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CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES SWITCH IMPORT-EXPORT SHIPPING TO SA

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 23 Sep 83 p 12

[Article from the "Ships and Shipping" Column by Bill Goddard]

[Text]

The decision of five central African countries to switch their import-export shipping business from Dar-es-Salaam to a South African harbour is likely to be a "shot in the arm" for East London.

This is the opinion of the head of South African harbours, Mr Pieter de Bruin, who said most of the freight could be moved through the Buffalo River port... "provided the railways can accommodate the additional volume of goods traffic."

Mr de Bruin, who is assistant-general manager of South African Transport Service and in charge of harbours, was commenting on the announcement this week that Zambia, Zaire, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi have decided to divert most of their sea-going trade from Dar-es-Salaam because of large-scale pilfering in the East African port.

A joint statement was released by the five countries and said they were obliged to move their sea-trade

interests to South African harbours.

It was also the first time that Tanzanian authorities have admitted to a serious pilferage problem in Dar-es-Salaam — the country's main commercial harbour.

The situation is said to be so bad that many international shipping lines refuse to handle cargo that is to be loaded or discharged at Dar-es-Salaam.

Commenting on the announcement, Mr de Bruin said that nothing has come through officially as yet.

"We have had no official approach and only know what was broadcast over Radio Zambia and has appeared in the press," he said.

"But, I can tell you that we'll handle any new business that is offered to us."

"East London handles a fairly large amount of these export shipments and can quiet easily accommodate a lot more," he said.

Mr de Bruin said East London is ideally

situated to run both import and export freight to the five countries concerned... but much would depend on whether the railway side could accommodate the upsurge in traffic."

"We will just have to wait and see what we are offered and what we will be called on to handle," he said.

Mr de Bruin said a lot will depend on what type of cargo is to be moved to the coast and in what volume.

"East London harbour can handle the increased volume of business and could even be switched onto a permanent day-night shift system if things warranted it."

"This could really be a shot in the arm for the port as well as the town," he said.

The System Manager of the Eastern Cape, Mr Louis du Toit, said he welcomed the news of the possibility of additional work for the East London harbour and did not foresee any problems on the rail movement side.

"We are well geared for a boost like this

Local shipping executives and leaders of commerce and industry will attend the function on board the 14 600-ton French-flagged ro-ro vessel Ango in the East London harbour on Wednesday.

Host and guest speaker will be the South African chairman of the conference, Mr Neil Sempill.

The Europe-Southern Africa conference was formed in September 1883 when several shipping lines — including Union Line, Clan Line and Sir Donald Currie's old Castle Line — got together and entered into an agreement to "work together and provide a stable service."

The conference is made up of 14 European and South African shipping lines.

and should have no difficulty in dovetailing it into our present operations," he added.

Conference centenary

The South and South-East Africa Conference — the international maritime organisation which has played a significant role in the development and growth of Southern Africa by providing a regular and stable shipping service to and from Europe — celebrates its 100th anniversary this month and will mark the East London connection by holding a commemorative lunch in the city next week.

East London Harbour's container handling capabilities will be greatly improved next month when three straddle-carriers are put into service. The giant units, which are being "transferred" from Durban, are designed specially to move and stack TEU boxes and will enable the container park capacity to be increased from just over 200 to close to 1 000. Local shipping authorities ask themselves, however, whether the port will ever get a quay-side gantry — the enormous units used to load and discharge cellular box carriers. This photograph was taken in Cape Town's Ben Schoeman container terminal.

CSO: 3400/65

ANGOP REPORTS ON BATTLE OF CANGAMBA, CAPTURED WEAPONS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Cangamba (ANGOP)--For many, the name of this little town in Moxico Province will not call forth any particular memory. But it is very much the symbol of many things that are yet to germinate. The South African racists know it well. This explains why they attacked that settlement so violently on Saturday 13 August with planes from their base in the north of occupied Namibia. According to military sources, this was to prevent the FAPLA from consolidating its victory in Cangamba. The South Africans thus hope to bottle up the Angolan troops and cut off their pursuit of the enemy which was thrown against Cangamba. For that purpose, Pretoria unleashed at one fell swoop all the propaganda orchestrated up to now to try to justify its aggressive policy against the People's Republic of Angola, specifically the presence in Angola of the so-called "sanctuary" for SWAPO. What guerrilla base could possible be located in Cangamba, more than 600 kms from the Namibian border?

First Lt Paulino Ngola Joao, 29 years old, from Lumbala Nguimbo, also in Moxico Province, is one of those who wrote the history of the defeat of the "kwachas" in Cangamba. Unfolding a map, he traces for us the flight path we are following. From Luanda he moves quickly to Luena, more than 1,000 kms by air. Now we come down a little more slowly by helicopter toward Cangamba, 218 kms from the capital of Moxico Province. This brings us to Cangamba, seat of the county of the same name. Looking down from the helicopter, we see a small collection of built-up houses, strung out along the town's only street worthy of the name. A little farther toward the southeast are the huts of the people. The Kalilongue creek runs along in the same direction, joining the Cubanguí River, a branch of the Cuando, about 1 km to the north.

Pointing to Cangamba on the map, the chief of the village defense brigade reminds us that it was the birthplace of Comandante "Dangereux," a martyr of the revolution, this by way of leading into his next statement that the masters of the puppet forces would have had their minions believe that this year they would take Moxico.

Located at an important highway junction, as a look at the road map readily shows, Cangamba is linked to Cangombe (93 kms) and Lupire (153 kms) to the south, to Sessa and Lumbala Nguimbo (formerly Gago Coutinho), 350 kms to the

east. Control of the triangle formed by Cangamba, Lupire, and Lumbala Nguimbo, along the corridor due south of Lupire and parallel to our eastern border, from the enemy's viewpoint would afford him the possibility of attacking more important positions, including his active presence in the Cazombo salient; in a word, to cut off the east from the western part of the People's Republic of Angola. Only the objective of consummating this diabolical plan can explain the importance of the material and human resources used by the enemy for eight consecutive days in his attempt to occupy Cangamba.

Use of Mercenaries

According to the FAPLA brigade commander, the enemy attacked the town from the end of July to 8 Aug with 6 battalions, reinforced by heavy artillery detachments, totalling at least 3,000 men. Not feeling secure enough, they even made use of mercenaries. The FAPLA fighters say that the subversion techniques of the puppets are very characteristic of them. The introduction of sophisticated aiming devices into these fights on a massive scale by the puppets does not mean an improvement in the quality of the "Kwachas" but rather a recourse to "prostitutes of war."

Wouldn't the troops dropped off near Cangamba on 3 Aug by a South African helicopter have to be mercenaries? Or was that machine carrying South African regulars? Both hypotheses are conceivable, according to what the local FAPLA brigade leaders in Cangamba told us.

Placed about 10 kms from our positions, the 60, 75, 81, 82, and 120 mm cannons and mortars practically devastated the settlement, not sparing the people at all. According to municipal commissar Jose Maria Nihanga, the fire was directed not just at the FAPLA but also at the civilians, who had to flee into the forests while the fighting lasted. There are many casualties among the civilian population, in spite of all the precautions that have been taken. Several months ago the municipal commissar, in coordination with the military command, had already instructed the populace in how to build their own underground shelters. After they later had to flee into the forests, the displaced civilians were mobilized by political activists and leaders of the municipal committee of the party, who had retreated with them.

The fighting was therefore very hard. Initially, counting on the superiority that they had won through the previous concentration of about 3,000 men, including mercenaries and the massive use of heavy artillery, the enemy broke through the first lines of defense around the town. Attacking simultaneously southeast and southwest along the landing strip, the puppet and mercenary bands still met with great resistance from the FAPLA fighters. At the same time, they shelled the residential neighborhoods and plundered their crops and granaries. Even now, the people do not have any more massambala or monioc, their staple foods. Honey has to be gathered from farther out, but the roads are mined.

But in spite of all this, 90 of the puppets were felled on the first day, 2 August of very bitter fighting, because our air force intervened and inflicted casualties on the bandits.

Resist to the Last Man

Having seized some sectors of our southeast advance defense lines, the enemy moves in all his forces. He occupies the water intake area on the Kalilongue creek. He tries to break us through thirst. The daily ration of the fighters is a handful of uncooked rice with sugar. Supplies are sent to us by air. Then fighting breaks out for the supplies dropped by parachute. We win. Tormented by thirst, however, the fighters resort to "pepsodent," dabbing tooth-past on their tongues to create a sensation of coolness, which fools the thirst for a few moments. Others prefer to break off and suck on pieces from the trunks of banana plants. That seems to help. Two fighters die of thirst. But the resistance goes on.

The enemy encirclement tightens. There are comrades who have to fight with two weapons, their own and that of their fallen comrade. The bombings by the Migs multiply. The small groves of eucalyptus trees along the main street of the town, where the "kwachas" are trying to dig in, are now only a memory. The fragrance of eucalyptus leaves mixed with the smell of gunpowder almost leaves us drunk.

The enemy dies by the hundreds. That's war. We are in the sixth day of the slaughter. The enemy is 20 m from our trenches, near the brigade command post, where all the fighting is concentrated. We are now using hand grenades. The order was to resist to the last man, recalls Capt Arguinaldo Venancio "Free Angola," 35, brigade chief of staff.

So close were the "kwachas" and mercenaries to our positions that it was already too risky for them to call in their artillery. Cheated of the victory that they could already taste, the puppetmasters drive us through the mine fields protecting our rear. Hundreds died there. Over the bodies of those who fell first came those who tried to follow. But who ever said that a "kwacha" who has stepped on a live mine will walk away in one piece. Not even dust is left of him. Those who came after met the same fate. They paid for their crimes. Finally the enemy had to give up the idea. Fanatical Iranian "revolutionary guards" are one thing, puppets are another.

By now the "kwachas" are surrounded. Expected reinforcements land. They already lost more than 1,100 men, but they tried yet another diversionary tactic. Four whites, certainly mercenaries, waved two flags, one of the People's Republic of Angola, the other of Cuba. They say they are internationalists and they have come to our aid. The trick doesn't work. The mercenaries have to give up quickly, or else.

The War Is Still Not Over

By now it is 8 August. The enemy withdraws. The ground is littered with bodies. Of the more than 1,000 enemy killed, we bury 277. Not a single prisoner is taken. Our troops had practiced target shooting intensively for days beforehand, with results that you can now see. The enemy attack plan is recovered. Much war materiel is also recovered (see box). The battle is won. The rest of the enemy flees in disarray. The fighters hug each other joyfully.

The war is not over, to be sure. But it is undeniable that the puppets and mercenaries have learned a lesson, as Capt "Free Angola" tells us. He joined the National Liberation struggle in 1968 right here in the third region, and in 1976 fought against the defunct FNLA in Malanje. Later, he attended the "Nicolau Gomes Spencer" officers school in Huambo, after which he was appointed chief of staff of the 22nd light infantry brigade. Today he is in Cangamba. He knows whereof he speaks when he warns us of the enemy's plans.

Thus before we even have time to begin repairing the damages caused by the enemy, the South Africans savagely bomb the town of Cangamba, with airplanes this time, deep into national territory. A squadron of Mirages and Canberra bombers are thrown against our positions. The roaring failure of the puppet hordes is followed by the direct and massive intervention of the South African air force. As if that were not enough, they double their forces in Cunene and in Kuando-Kubango, unleashing attacks on our positions. They seek to generalize the war on all fronts, to stop us from striking the mortal blow against UNITA, to dislodge it from national territory.

Who can deny that the "Kwachas" and South Africans work hand in glove?

Captured Weapons

The artillery pieces and sundry weapons, ammunition and grenades recovered from the enemy in this battle of Cangamba must weigh many tons. As might be expected from the types of weapons and their origin, the nature of the puppets' suppliers can be easily determined. In few battles have our armed forces captured so much war materiel from the puppet bands. This fact alone demonstrates the magnitude of the fights that have been staged in Cangamba. It is easy to imagine how heavy the defeat was for the Angolan traitors and mercenaries.

Our armed forces captured the following:

- 2 light machine guns/RPD-2
- 4 heavy machine guns, HK-21
- 52 G3 assault rifles
- 49 AK-47 assault rifles
- 9 Mauser assault rifles
- 9 carbines of various make
- 2 PPCH
- 4 60 mm mortars
- 6 RPG7
- 385 60 mm mortar shells
- 18 81 mm mortar shells
- 20 82 mm projectiles
- 127,975 cartridges, model 1908 NATO
- 16 antipersonnel mines
- 23 antitank mines
- 103 P67B rockets
- 83 P67B antipersonnel rockets
- 137 hand grenades
- 129 P67B charges
- 3,200 model 43 cartridges

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REPORTAGE ON REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ASSOCIATION CONGRESS

Opening Session

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 8 Sep 83 pp 1, 4, 5

[Text] The Second Congress of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) opened here yesterday at the assembly hall of the Grand Palace with a key-note address by Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam.

Addressing the Congress in which 1,110 youth participants from all over the country are taking part, Comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the PMAC and of COPWE and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, said that the country's youth have rendered invaluable contributions in the political and armed struggle and in the economic and cultural spheres.

Although the youth have contributed immensely to the revolutionary struggle in general in the different fields in which they are engaged and particularly to the literacy campaign, there are yet numerous functions to be accomplished by them, said Comrade Chairman Mengistu, urging them that they should accordingly exert considerable efforts in future.

In the course of its deliberations, the Second REYA Congress will review the activities and accomplishments of the Ethiopian youth in the past three years since the formation of REYA and will review strong and weak points so that Ethiopian youth through their organization will enhance their contributions and accomplish their duties more effectively.

Present at the opening ceremony were Comrade Fikre-Selassie Wogderess, PMAC Secretary-General, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and COPWE Executive Committee member, PMAC Standing Committee and COPWE Executive Committee members, ministers, COPWE Central Committee members and commissioners.

Comrade Legesse Asfaw, PMAC Standing Committee and COPWE Executive Committee member and head of COPWE Organizational Department, gave a report at the opening ceremony on the activities undertaken to strengthen REYA and the achievements scored in this area.

Earlier, the procedures, rules and regulations, and programme of REYA together with a report on REYA's activities in the past three years presented by Comrade Hailu Tujuba, Chairman of the REYA, were approved by the Congress.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam said that if REYA with its present membership of over 3 million mobilizes its full force, its role in social life would undoubtedly be significant and certainly more prominent than it is at present.

REYA until now has not been successful in shouldering to the full the arduous responsibility vested on youth, Comrade Chairman noted and stressed that the active cooperation of government agencies and the broad masses of the people as a whole was crucial.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu pointed out that youth should translate into deeds the directives of COPWE and that government agencies should encourage them to participate fully in the execution of national socio-economic plans.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu further noted that REYA's relationship with international democratic and socialist youth associations would help enhance solidarity with socialist forces, liberation movements, peace and democratic forces.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu lauded the active role of revolutionary Ethiopia students associations under the umbrella of REYA in foreign countries.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu noted that the youth should be the linchpin of all national endeavours, including the creation of the Marxist-Leninist party, the building of a strong national economy and as well as reliable national defence force.

The Chairman stressed that the youth were expected to play a vanguard role in the implementation of the Proclamations on the National Military Service and the People's Territorial Militia. He underlined the fact that responsibility for the defence of the Motherland was the national duty of all citizens.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu added that the initiative towards the implementation process of the National Military Service should be borne by youth. He expressed strong conviction that the illustrious example of the forebears will be carried aloft by the young revolutionary generation in fulfilling the present national call.

Comrade Legesse Asfaw, PMAC Standing Committee and COPWE Executive Committee member, read out to the Congress REYA's performance report in which it has been indicated that noteworthy accomplishments were made in permeating the REYA spirit among the rank and file of Ethiopia youth.

Comrade Legesse noted in his report that the Revolutionary Government had given all-round assistance and encouragement towards the establishment of REYA in recognition of the role the youth play in the on-going popular struggle to bring about socio-economic equity.

The report also underscored that the creation of REYA was not an end in itself and that its membership should relentlessly promote the cause of the Revolution and the Motherland. He thus reminded REYA of its duty in rallying the youth behind national revolutionary causes.

Comrade Legesse stressed the need for strengthening REYA at all levels and noted the initiatives that ought to be taken in this regard. The guidance and leadership provided by COPWE's Central Committee in efforts towards the realization of this objective were likewise emphasized.

The major aim of REYA's Second Congress, it was noted, should go beyond electing new executive committee and control committee leadership and include that of the no less urgent task of devising measures for the enrolment of more membership and the strengthening of constructive relations between youth and the rest of the society. He pointed out that the importance of militant activity in this area of endeavour assumes particular significance in view of the fact that Ethiopia is now poised on the threshold of the establishment of the working people's party.

REYA Chairman Hailu Tujuba submitted the report of the Central Committee to the Congress. The report covered in detail the accomplishments of REYA both at local and international fora.

According to the Central Committee report, REYA has substantially contributed towards the realization of national objectives and has been actively involved in international dialogues during the last three years of its existence.

The Central Committee derived a sense of activement from the successful undertakings taken up in integrating the youth in ideological, economic and social areas of endeavour.

The present REYA membership stands at 3,624,625 organized under 20,775 REYA chapters and units in peasant associations, urban centres and schools and industrial quarters. The structural set up of REYA covers 14 regions, Addis Ababa and Assab, 102 provinces, 13 urban centres and 111 localities. Over 400,000 youth are giving leadership at grassroots level and transmitting central directives through appropriate channels.

The report disclosed that preliminary preparations have been made to organize under REYA youth serving in the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

It was pointed out that REYA's structural body comprised Ethiopian students associations in Europe, North America and Cuba and that encouraging results have been achieved in orienting the youth with ideological teachings of similar degree.

Due reference was also made in the report to REYA's solidarity and relationship with youth associations in socialist countries, progressive and democratic forces, and regional and international youth organizations.

The report stressed the need to maintain integrity and sense of duty among leadership bodies and warned that those who fail their duties should not keep executive posts.

According to the report, youth representatives have been sponsored through REYA for higher studies abroad and it was suggested that political training at

home would also help REYA office-bearers in the discharge of their duties. The report commended the youth in rural parts of the country for having shown exemplary participation and involvement in REYA's activities.

The report conveyed the Central Committee's gratitude to the Revolutionary Government for the unfailing assistance given to REYA including a subsidy of 1,401,761 birr. Membership fees and other funds amounted to 795,531 birr, it was also disclosed.

The report on ideological and political activities noted the dissemination work carried out among the youth throughout the country through the distribution of Marxist-Leninist literatures and other educational materials and by organizing discussion forums.

So far, 7,004 youth artistic groups, 19,840 study circles and 6,936 sports teams have been set up among REYA members.

The report reiterated REYA's pledge to continue coordination the youth in the fight against illiteracy until the entire Ethiopian population is freed from this social scourge.

The Central Committee also declared in its report the esteem and admiration of the youth to the heroic Revolutionary Armed Forces whose sacrifices have ensured the continued survival of the nation as an indivisible polity.

The report also noted the pledge and commitment of the youth to emulate the noble example of the Armed forces during association with the National Military Service. It conveyed the message of the youth that they would not only learn from the lessons of experience of the heroic feats and patriotic sentiment but also firmly stand on their side defending the Motherland.

On economic and social activities, the report disclosed that 11,986,389 youth took part in voluntary development oriented campaigns launched in the last three years. It was thus noted that the work accomplished by youth was valued at around 20,730,000 birr. The participation of youth in the literacy campaign was singled out as being particularly significant.

In its afternoon session, the Second Congress of REYA established four commissions charged with various functions. These comprise the credentials commission, commissions to revise the proposed constitution of REYA and draft the declaration and the resolution of the Second Congress, and a commission for preparing and distributing the REYA documents.

Meanwhile, the Congress took up various performance reports submitted by regional REYA chapters and will continue doing so today.

Regional Reports Heard

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 9 Sep 83 pp 1, 5, 6

[Text] The Second Congress of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) continued its regular session yesterday and heard reports submitted to

it by REYA committees of 12 regions and by the Revolutionary Ethiopia Students' Associations in Europe and Cuba as well as the youth of Revolutionary Army.

Among the REYA chapter representatives who presented reports on their development activities, the problems they encountered, and the measures they took during the past three years, were those of Gamo Goffa, Gojjam, Gondar, Eritrea, Hararghe, Illubabor, Kaffa, Shoa, Sidamo, Tigray, Wollega and Wollo regions.

The report of the Arssi REYA committee presented last Tuesday noted that a total of 20,548 youth had participated in teaching adults from the first to the eighth round literacy campaign thus contributing towards the full emancipation of 312,960 people from the scourge of illiteracy. Referring to youth membership, the report disclosed that there are 171,496 members organized under 1,152 REYA chapters in Arssi region.

The report of the REYA committee of Gamo-Goffa region revealed on its part that the youth of the region has actively participated in the ongoing literacy campaign so as to contribute towards the freeing of 164,022 adults from the shackles of illiteracy. The report also noted that a total of 140,081 youth were organized under 798 basic chapters.

The report submitted by the REYA committee of Gojjam region noted that encouraging results have been registered through the active participation of youth in development activities in all sectors of the economy.

Regarding the organizational work of the regional REYA, the report said that a total of 330,027 youth have been organized under 1,789 basic REYA chapters in Gojjam region.

The report further revealed that in preparation for the National Military Service, 1,165 have already completed basic military training, while 325 more are about to complete the training.

The report of the Gondar regional branch of REYA pointed out that 16,589 members of the association were engaged in voluntary services in different sectors of the economy. A total of 69,736 youth took part in the eighth and ninth rounds of the literacy campaign and gave lessons to 942,228 adults.

Presently, the branch has 200,952 members organized into 1,185 basic associations in the rural and urban areas. The report made note of the attempts made to register and organize school-age youth and encourage them to take part in sporting and artistic activities. The report further recounted the participation of the youth in defence of the Revolution by voluntarily registering in the people's militia.

The Gondar youth association is giving its members vocational training and is attempting to develop their creativity, the report said.

The report by the REYA committee of Eritrea region noted that the interest of the youth of the region to organize into youth associations is growing

daily. In the past three years anti-popular elements had frantically attempted to hold back the youth from organizing but their attempts had failed, the report said. As a result of the Red Star Multi-Faceted Revolutionary Development Campaign of Eritrea region launched three years ago, a condition has been created for the youth to reflect a growing interest in sports, the report pointed out.

At present, a total of 38,936 youth have been organized in nine provinces, 29 districts and 246 basic REYA chapters, said the report.

The report of the Hararghe committee of REYA pointed out that youth members had taken part in farming, harvesting, terrace building and road construction. They also participated in cooperation with other mass organizations, in the digging of water wells, planting tree seedlings and cleaning streams.

In the national literacy drive, the youth in Hararghe region, 76,064 have taken part in the eighth round of the literacy campaign, while for learning Marxism-Leninism 935 zonal study circles embracing 18,700 members have been established. The report also noted the participation of the youth in the struggle against anti-popular elements by standing alongside the Revolutionary Army.

The report of the Illubabor regional branch of REYA revealed that its 768,049 members took part in the various developmental ventures in the region, and that 58,947 youth took part in the national literacy campaign beginning from the first to the ninth round.

The report also pointed out that the REYA membership in the region has increased from 99,919 to 106,469. The chapter has also organized 2,893 zonal study circles and has established 70 medium-sized libraries and 2,301 reading rooms.

The report by the REYA committee of Kaffa region said that commendable contributions were made to the stepping up of literacy efforts with the active participation of 21,697 youth members.

Reviewing the functions of the regional REYA, the report stated that a total of 361,231 members have been organized in seven provinces, 43 districts and 1,687 basic REYA chapters in Kaffa region.

The report also noted with satisfaction that the youth of Kaffa region have expressed with revolutionary fervour their readiness for the implementation of the Proclamation on the National Military Service in response to the national call made by the Revolutionary Leader. The youth of the region are also prepared to pay the necessary sacrifice to translate into deeds the directives of the Revolutionary Government and COPWE.

Meanwhile, the Second Congress of REYA in its session yesterday has approved its rules and regulations which were studied and submitted to it by the rules and regulations drafting commission set up Wednesday.

The revised rules and regulations of REYA are believed to enhance the youth's organisational capability, its level of political consciousness and its participation in national reconstruction.

In addition, the revised rules and regulations have brought about structural improvements as well as widening the scope of the application of democratic centralism, it was learnt. Aside from further improving the operational aspect, they have raised the participation of the control committee to a higher level.

It is further believed that the present rules and regulations would alleviate problems in connection with organisation, registration and decision-making and would greatly increase the participation of members in the light of the present stage attained by the association.

Meanwhile, based on the agenda items adopted by the Congress and the reports of the REYA Control Committees, the Congress participants yesterday deliberated on a number of points dealing with the activities of REYA in the past three years as well as with the organisational experiences so far gathered that would be useful for the future task of strengthening the association.

More Reports Read

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 10 Sep 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] The third anniversary of the founding of Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) was colorfully celebrated at the association's headquarters here yesterday.

Comrade Legesse Asfaw, PMAC Standing Committee and COPWE Executive Committee member, opened an exhibition organized on the occasion of the anniversary celebration and the Second Congress of REYA. He commended the role of youth in the revolutionary process and said the representation of youth delegates from various countries was indicative of REYA's growing influence.

Present at the ceremony were ministers, COPWE Central Committee members, commissioners, representatives of mass and government organizations and invited guests.

The pictorial exhibition depicts the activities of Ethiopian youth in various areas of endeavour in pre- and post-revolution Ethiopia. Items showing the creative talents of youth and various cultural and historical relics are also on display.

The three-section exhibition displays the contributions of youth in defence of the country, the sustained war against the legacies of feudalism and reaction and activities of REYA under the guidance of COPWE.

Representatives of the Soviet Youth League (Komsomol) and of the Free German Youth took part in the exhibition and also briefed guests on their presentations. Youth representatives from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

(PDRY), Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Namibia, and the African National Congress (ANC) also presented displays.

Speaking on the occasion, Comrade Gezahegne Negussie, Secretary of the Central Committee of REYA and Head of the Committee's Ideological Department, recalled the association's participation in the economic, political and social life of the country during the past three years with the guidance of COPWE.

Meanwhile, the Addis Ababa Committee of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) yesterday staged a musical festival at the stadium here in connection with the Second REYA Congress.

The feast was attended by Comrade Bililign Mandefro, Minister of Education and COPWE Central Committee member, COPWE zone representatives, invited guests and delegates to the REYA Congress.

Comrade Zewde Teklu, Mayor of Addis Ababa, said that the event had major relevance to the set objective of REYA and the on-going activities in connection with the Congress.

Amateur artistic teams from Addis Ababa, Shoa, the Revolutionary Armed Forces, the Ministry of Culture and Sports Affairs, and professional artistic troupes presented songs and staged other performances.

Earlier, REYA delegates visited the Ethiopian Airlines headquarters where they were shown around the maintenance, workshop and terminal facilities.

Meanwhile, the Second Congress of Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) continued hearing Thursday reports presented by regional REYA committees.

The report submitted by the REYA committee of Shoa region emphasized that the youths of the region have actively participated in development activities, sanitation campaigns as well as in the establishment of producers' cooperatives.

The report also noted that an amount of 5,169,033 birr was saved because of the voluntary work campaign undertaken by 1,731,274 youths in the various sectors of the economy.

In addition to their active participation in the on-going literacy drive, the report said that the youths of Shoa region are contributing immensely towards the stepping up of the cultural campaign.

Explaining the efforts exerted to strengthen the regional REYA, the report said that favourable conditions had been created in the operational sphere as a result of the struggle waged to organize new chapters in localities lacking basic chapters and to strengthen already existing associations. Hence the regional REYA possesses 5,699 basic chapters with a total of 892,663 members.

The report also commended the active participation of the youth of the region in the dissemination of ideological lessons among their members.

According to the report presented by the REYA committee of Sidamo region, the youth of the region have registered tangible results through active participation in development activities as well as in military duties in response to the call of the Motherland.

The report said that with the active participation of 1,586,268 youths of the region in voluntary work campaigns, government and mass organizations had saved a total of 3,547,897 birr.

The report further noted that youth members had given a helping hand to members of militia families by undertaking ploughing and repairing their houses.

Following the steps taken to strengthen REYA along new lines, the report said that a total of 313,712 youth had been organized under 1,536 REYA chapters in the region.

In addition 1,966 zonal study centres have been established in which 47,317 members are studying Marxism-Leninism in line with the regional REYA's action programme to disseminate the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Motivated by patriotism and in response to the call of the Motherland 4,677 youth of the region received training in military tactics, while a large number were deployed to the war fronts to safeguard the gains of the Revolution and the territorial integrity of the Motherland, the report said.

The report of the REYA committee of Wollega disclosed that there are 257,950 youth members embraced by the 2,157 basic REYA chapters in the region.

Regarding ideological dissemination, the report noted that 22,074 study groups have been established under the auspices of the regional REYA committee in which some 145,000 youngsters are actively participating in Marxist-Leninist orientation.

The youth in the region are also rendering commendable voluntary service in efforts towards the construction of the economy, having far provided voluntary labour valued at 1,164,641 birr. Taking part in this worthy endeavour were 1,398,066 youth members, the report revealed.

With the active participation of 1,279,919 youth in self-initiated development activities, some 2,181,300 birr worth of service was provided, the report presented by the representative of the REYA committee of Wollo region disclosed. The report noted the enthusiastic participation of youth in the political, social, economic and military fields in response to the call of the Motherland.

The youth also volunteered 12,998 birr towards relief efforts in the area and have spearheaded the literacy campaign and activities in primary health care, veterinary service and soil and water conservation, the report revealed.

A total of 1,211 basic REYA chapters embracing 11,095 members have been organized in Wollo region since 1973 E. C. while ideological studies are well

underway under the supervision of 6,128 zonal study and work teams in which 264,363 members are being exposed to Marxism-Leninism, the report noted.

The report presented by the representative of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Students' Union in Europe (RESUE) recalled the struggle waged by the union to mobilize Ethiopian students learning abroad under the banner of REYA. This was made possible at the closing session of the 20th Congress of RESUE when a consensus was reached by members of the union to coordinate the struggle of students abroad with the guidelines of the Revolutionary Government and COPWE.

The report disclosed that RESUE has organized 3,778 members under 217 basic REYA chapters, 71 local and 13 branch chapters in Europe.

The report recalled that the union recently held its congress in the German Democratic Republic where members deliberated on past achievements and charted future action programmes. It later reaffirmed its support for all directives of the Revolutionary Government and COPWE, particularly the Proclamation on the National Military Service.

The report of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Students' Union in Cuba (RESUC) stressed that the sacrifice being made for the success of the revolution is not only limited in Ethiopia. The report also said that RESUC has strengthened the organization and is poised on contributing concretely towards the formation of the party of the working people of Ethiopia.

The union has a membership of 3,000 and is organized in nine district and 35 basic associations.

A report was also submitted on the activities of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Armed Forces and the victories scored as a result of the sacrifices paid in defence of the unity and territorial integrity of the Motherland. The report noted that youngsters now form the backbone of the nation's armed forces.

The report enumerated the development activities in which the Revolutionary Armed Forces have been and continue participating in factories and state farms, the afforestation campaign, road construction, the literacy campaign and relief and rehabilitation programmes.

Joint Statement, Resolution

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 13 Sep 83 pp 1, 2, 9, 11

[Text] The Second Congress of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) concluded its five-day deliberations Sunday adopting a joint statement and a resolution.

The congress had reviewed REYA's activities in the past three years, approved the organizations' budget and the revised rules and regulations introducing changes in structural set-up and elected office-bearers for leading REYA bodies.

Comrade Legesse Asfaw, PMAC Standing Committee and COPWE Executive Committee member and Head of COPWE Organizational Department, closed the congress by giving directives to the participants.

Present at the closing ceremony were Comrade Teka Tulu, PMAC Standing Committee and COPWE Central Committee member, Comrade Gessesse Wold-Kidan, PMAC Standing Committee member, Commissioner for Pensions and COPWE Central Committee member, ministers, commissioners and COPWE Central Committee members.

In his statement, Comrade Legesse said that members of REYA must continue to develop the consciousness and raise their creative capability in order to further strengthen their organization and translate into deeds the principles of democratic centralism based on the directives they obtain from COPWE at present and from the party of the working people in future.

Comrade Legesse appreciated the endeavours made by REYA in the ideological sphere in the past and stressed the challenges in this area in future in the light of complex situations both nationally and internationally.

Comrade Legesse noted in particular the decisive role of the leadership of REYA to ensure that the members of the organization are equipped with the necessary political maturity and ideological strength to withstand the reactionary commentaries and psychological warfare directed at them by counter-revolutionary elements.

The youth of Revolutionary Ethiopia must greatly intensify their participation to defend the Motherland from all sorts of attacks and to increase their role in the economic and social fields by heightening their awareness about the dignity and importance of labour, said Comrade Legesse. The youth have a historic responsibility to elevate the Motherland from economic deprivation, Comrade Legesse stressed, urging that the necessary sacrifice should be paid for the well-being of Revolutionary Ethiopia and to increase productivity.

"Each and every citizen has to safeguard the Revolution and the Motherland, Unless this is done it is futile to believe that our objectives would be achieved," Comrade Legesse said. REYA has to play a vanguard rôle so that the National Military Service is implemented at all levels, said Comrade Legesse, emphasising the significance of the national military service and the example which REYA has to set as representative of the younger generation.

Immense Importance

Comrade Legesse said that immense importance is attached to the discussions of the Second REYA Congress and the resolution and statement it adopted. He stressed that they contribute towards furthering the progress of the Revolution and replenishing the revolutionary experiences.

The contents of the statement and resolution adopted by the Congress said Comrade Legesse, bear witness that the REYA members are well aware of the challenges ahead and that they are prepared to make sacrifices for active participation in the revolutionary process.

Comrade Legesse stressed, however, that it is only when the statement and resolution of the Congress were translated into deeds and bear concrete fruit that the historic importance of the Congress could be heightened.

Comrade Legesse went on to point out that each and every REYA member must relate theory with practice and must make contributions to the best of his ability. Members of REYA he said, must strive hard to implement the resolution of the Second COPWE Congress, the programme of the Sixth Regular Session of the COPWE Central Committee and the decision of the Second REYA Congress itself.

Comrade Legesse expressed best wishes to the newly elected REYA office-bearers and noted his firm conviction that they along with the membership of the organization would live up to the revolutionary obligation entrusted to them by the working people of Revolutionary Ethiopia.

In conclusion, Comrade Legesse assured the REYA member of the support of the Revolutionary Government and COPWE and on his own behalf to governmental departments and mass organizations as well as individuals for the contributions they made to ensure the success of the Congress.

Earlier, Comrade Wondimu Robi, COPWE Central Committee Alternate member and Head of Youth Affairs Section in COPWE's Organizational Department, made a statement noting that the internal strength of REYA determines the extent of youth activities. He added, however, that to achieve REYA's objectives, the youth require the constant support and attention of governmental departments and mass organizations in particular and of the society in general.

Comrade Wondimu lauded the part played by members of REYA leadership bodies at all levels both in the field of reconstruction and organization and stated that through their contributions and sacrifices, these members had left an indelible mark in history.

Comrade Wondimu further pointed out that REYA, apart from its effort to strengthen itself structurally, has effectively participated in international forums thereby achieving greater recognition abroad. The experiences it gathered both through its activities and from those of socialist countries have enabled it to create better conditions to strengthen itself, said Comrade Wondimu.

Comrade Getachew Robele, the new REYA Chairman, made a statement on his part pledging on behalf of the newly elected office-bearers and on his own behalf that they would fulfil the trust reposed on them by the youth of Revolutionary Ethiopia.

Comrade Getachew lauded the achievements of the previous leadership bodies of REYA and stated that the newly elected office-bearers would work for the implementation of the programmes charted out previously and for the fulfilment of national and international obligations.

The new REYA Chairman called on the youth not to see organization as an end in itself to enhance their activities on the basis of the political, ideological and organizational directives of the country.

Statement, Resolution

The Second Congress of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) has called on the young generation to be on the alert for the implementation of the proclamation providing for the establishment of the National Military Service and Territorial Militia so as to renew the patriotism of the forebears with socialist heroism.

This was stated in the resolution and declaration issued Sunday following the establishment of the Central Congress and election of higher executive organs of REYA.

The congress decided at the end of its five-day deliberations that plans be finalized to bring REYA within the present defence structure and be implemented in accordance with the directives of COPWE. This, it was noted, would facilitate the early execution of the National Military Service scheme.

The Second REYA Congress strongly condemned US imperialist provocation through the recent "Rapid Deployment Force" manoeuvres on Ethiopia's gates as a serious threat to integrity as well as the revolution. The congress noted that such interventionist activities are being conducted by the imperialists elsewhere in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America in collaboration with reactionary governments and that world peace and stability is consequently being jeopardized.

The congress decided to open REYA units in areas where these do not exist and strengthen those which, for various reasons, suffered from weaknesses and constraints so as to enable youth play their proper role in the realization of the objectives of COPWE today and the working people's party tomorrow.

The REYA statement made a detailed survey of the issues discussed during its Second Congress and noted that the participants were greatly inspired by the opening speech of Comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the PMAC and of COPWE and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. The high points of the deliberations were exchanges of view on reports by the regional REYA central and control committees and by Revolutionary Ethiopia Students' unions abroad.

Also figuring high on the congress agenda was the patriotic duty of the present day generation of Ethiopians, particularly youth, in keeping alive the tradition of heroism and sacrificial dedication bequeathed by the intensely patriotic forefathers.

The congress also underlined the task awaiting revolutionary youth in becoming actively involved in activities leading to the establishment of the working people's party by the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution. Also stressed was the contribution expected of youth towards the realization of the nation's development and reconstruction programmes.

In the part related to the strengthening of the REYA structure at various levels, it was noted that closer cooperation and collaboration should be

forged between the association and other mass organizations. REYA members were likewise urged to contribute meaningfully towards the success of the on-going campaign against corruption, waste and abuse of public trust.

On the resolution related to social affairs, the congress noted that tremendous as has been the contribution made by youth towards the success of the nine phases of the literacy campaign conducted to date, they should not slacken their enthusiasm until such time as illiteracy is wiped out from throughout the nation. The youth was also urged to continue playing leading roles in efforts towards putting an end to harmful cultural practices, helping the aged and the physically handicapped and promoting basic health service.

Turning to the international scene, the congress said REYA would continue broadening areas of cooperation and collaboration with anti-imperialist and socialist youth forums and forge closer alliance with all democratic and peace-loving forces in the struggle against international imperialism.

The REYA Congress also expressed solidarity with all forces pitted against the enemies of freedom, justice, peace and equality. The Second REYA congress reiterated that in this, as in its other activities and dealings on both the domestic and international fronts, the association will be guided by the policy of the Revolutionary Government and the directives of COPWE.

Elections Endorsed

The congress has endorsed the results of the elections carried out by the members of the REYA Central Committee regarding leading bodies within the organization.

The outcome of the election was announced to the congress at its concluding session. Comrade Getachew Robele from the Addis Ababa REYA Committee has been elected the new chairman of the REYA. Comrade Abdul-Karim Adem, formerly the Chairman of the Central Control Committee of REYA, has been re-elected to the same office for a second term.

Comrade Tefesse Gebre-Tsadik and Comrade Abebe Hankorie, formerly first and second secretaries of REYA respectively, have been reelected to serve as members of REYA Executive Committee. Also elected to the same committee are Comrade Mengistu Eddo from the Shoa REYA Committee, Comrade Hiruy Amanuel from the Addis Ababa REYA Committee, Comrade Zenebe Ayele from the Kaffa REYA Committee, Comrade Tizazu Tefera from the Gondar REYA Committee and Comrade Essias Demissie from the Addis Ababa REYA Committee. Similarly, Comrade Lt. Kefelegne Tefesse from the Political Department of the Revolutionary Army has been elected members of the REYA Executive Committee.

Meanwhile, Comrade Teklu Timerga from the Addis Ababa REYA Committee and Comrade Melese Tefesse from the REYA Committee of Bale region have become members of the REYA Central Control Committee.

Comrade Getachew Robele is a 25 year old youth who had been teaching at the Addis Ababa University. He has a degree from the Addis Ababa University in Political Science and international Relations, and in the past five years, has worked as a political cadres and as chairman of the Addis Ababa University REYA Committee. Previously, he had served as Chairman of the REYA Committee in Arssi region and had been an active participant in a discussion forum in the Arssi Rural Development Unit.

Action Programme Approved

Meanwhile, the Central Council of revolutionary Ethiopia youth association (REYA) Sunday approved the REYA action programme identifying areas of youth participation in accordance with the guidance provided by the Revolutionary Government and COPWE and pointing out plans in organisational, ideological and administrative spheres.

Meanwhile based on the experiences of the past three years, the REYA Central Committee has approved its own revised internal rules and regulations.

It is believed that by setting the direction for youth activities and rallying the youth together under the REYA banner, the REYA action programme would create the necessary condition for the creation of socialism.

It was also pointed out that the revised rules and regulations of the REYA Central Committee would regulate the work of the Central Committee in keeping with the objective reality in the country, the stage of progress attained by the organisation and the provisions contained within the organisation's rules and regulations.

Messages of support and solidarity were meanwhile conveyed to the Second REYA Congress by progressive youth organisations and associations throughout the world. Among those which sent messages are the Kom-Somol, which embraces 42 million youth members in the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the German Youth Organisation, the Ernest Talman Youth Pioneers Organisations, the GDR, the Central Committee and Youth Organisation of Czechoslovakia, the Yemen Socialist Youth Association of the PDRY, the World Democratic Youth Federation, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Organisation of Vietnam, the Dimitrov Youth Communist League of Bulgaria, the Poland Socialist Youth Association, the Korean Workers Youth League, and the Romanian Youth Association.

Similar messages of support and solidarity were conveyed to the Second Congress of REYA by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya Bureau in Addis Ababa, the All Ethiopia Trade Union (AETU), the All Ethiopia Peasants' Association (AEPA), the Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association (REWA), the Ethiopian Teachers' Association, the Ethiopian Peace and Solidarity Committee, and the Ethiopian Community in the GDR.

CSO: 3400/47

PMAC AWARDS MEDAL, GIVES PROMOTIONS

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 11 Sep 83 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Provisional Military Government awarded medals to two army divisions from among units of the Revolutionary Armed Forces which distinguished themselves in the battlefield during 1982-83 (1975 Ethiopian year) and gave promotions in rank to the commanders and political commissars of the two divisions.

The two divisions from among units of the Revolutionary Armed Forces engaged in ceaseless socialist patriotic struggle in defending our victorious revolution from subversion and protecting the Motherland from being dismembered and defending the country's territorial integrity which were honoured for their outstanding fighting record during the year, were the 18th Terrara Army Division under the Mentir Command deployed in the northern front, and the Anbessa Third Army Division deployed in the eastern front.

Comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the PMAC and of COPWE and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, decorated the emblem of the 18th Terrara Army Division with the Distinguished Battlefield Gallantry Medal and the Anbessa Third Army Division with the Battlefield Gallantry Medal, First Class.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu also promoted the commanders and political Commissars of the two gallant and famous divisions. Accordingly,

--Comrade Col. Merdassa Lelissa, Commander of the 18th Terrara Army Division, promoted to the rank of Brigadier General,

--Comrade Col. Yemata Misikir, Commander of the Anbessa Third Army Division, promoted to the rank of Brigadier General,

--Comrade Capt. Abiyu Tarekegn, Political Commissar of the 18th Terrara Army Division, promoted to the rank of Major, and

--Comrade Capt. Getachew Salilih, Political Commissar of the Anbessa Third Army Division, promoted to the rank of Major.

CSO: 3400/47

ERITREAN DEVELOPMENT INVESTMENTS REPORTED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 10 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Asmara (ENA)--The revolutionary Government has invested upwards of 113 million birr in reconstruction work during the last 12 months.

Comrade Dr. Gebre-Egziabber Gogos, Acting Head of the Regional Economic Development Campaign and Planning Development, said the money was invested in reactivating development projects destroyed, partly or totally, by the secessionist bandit groups. He noted that the Red Star Multi-faceted Development Campaign, launched in the once troubled region by the Revolutionary Government and COPWE has proved highly successful.

Comrade Dr. Gebre-Egziabber said most of the 14 major social and economic projects undertaken in the region during 1975 E. C. have been completed and began providing service.

Upwards of 20.7 million birr has been invested in the Red Star Development Campaign to organize and motivate the peasantry in Eritrea region, it was disclosed yesterday.

Comrade Tamire Teka, Head of the Multi-Purpose Campaign's Peasants Training and Agricultural Development Department, also disclosed that 303 peasants' associations and 43 service cooperatives with a total membership of nearly 58,500 were established during a one-year period. He said numerous peasant representatives were given political, military and agricultural training and deployed among the peasant masses during the same period.

Comrade Tamire pointed out that dispossessed peasants who suffered under secessionist banditry and brigandage have been allotted land following success by the Revolutionary Liberation Army. He said 81,079 km of terrace dams and eight medium-sized reservoirs have been constructed under the aegis of the food for work programme and the supervision of the regional Peasants' Training and Agricultural Development Department.

CSO: 3400/47

SOCIOECONOMIC, POLITICAL PROGRESS IN GONDAR REPORTED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 11 Sep 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] Gondar (ENA)--Historic Gondar administrative region in the central highlands of Ethiopia has undergone notable socio-economic and political transformations during the last nine years of revolutionary struggle.

The site of some of the nation's leading historic and cultural landmarks, Gondar has been opened to the neighbouring regions through surface transport infrastructure initiated by both the government and the local populace on self-help basis, the all-weather road network presently totals 675 kms and the 300 km Woldia highway is nearing completion. The region is linked with the rest of the country by microwave communications and by a steadily expanding postal service.

The regional REYA and REWA have memberships of 193,645 and 178,690, respectively, organized into a combined total of 2,254 basic units. Three kindergartens and a model nursery have been built.

Fifty-two branch unions represent the regional AETU while service cooperatives are flourishing and HASIDA branch offices are being encouraged to bring more artisans under their fold. Higher urban and kebele dwellers' associations have been formed in 25 towns under the auspices of the regional office of the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing.

As part of the effort to enable urban residents own their own homes, nearly 4,270,000 square metres of urban land has been allotted to date. Parallel measures are in the meantime being taken to build government-funded dwelling units and self-initiated kebele residential quarters.

Service giving facilities are coming up in appreciable numbers as part of the regional development campaign.

There is a meat processing firm and a soft drinks factory in Gondar. Plans have been finalized to build more such facilities both to tap the region's impressive natural resources potential and create job opportunities.

Some 355 elementary, and 20 junior and 12 secondary schools have been built in the region through government-public co-operation. The corresponding pre-revolution figures were 106, 12 and 2.

The medical college and a teacher training institute are also providing full service and undergoing constant expansion and improvement.

Upwards of 788,000 adults have meanwhile successfully completed literacy classes. The region's health services are being extended through two hospitals, 41 health stations and 71 clinics.

Short and long-term plans provide for a more rapid expansion of the region's socio-economic, cultural and political infrastructure.

CSO: 3400/47

SOCIOECONOMIC, POLITICAL CHANGES IN WOLLO REGION REPORTED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 15 Sep 83 p 3

[Text] Dessie (ENA)--The 1974 popular revolution has brought about tremendous socio-economic and political changes in Wollo region, leaving a positive impact on the life of the over three million inhabitants of the region.

Wollo is very much attached with the upsurge of the Revolution and the notoriety of the feudal monarchy was exposed to the world after the incredible death toll of the hidden famine.

Wollo consists of 12 provinces and 37 districts with a total population of over 3.23 million people, it produces almost all the cereals growing in Ethiopia and has minerals such as coal, iron, ore, gas and others.

The peasantry in the region has been organized into 1,257 associations with a total membership of over 692,000. There are 36 peasants producers' co-operatives and service co-operatives with a membership of over 41,000.

The regional chapter of Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) plays a commendable role in integrating the youth in social, economic and political fields of endeavour. The 411,095 REYA members in Wollo have 1,570 study units and 363 discussion forums for political education.

The youth have been active in self-initiated development campaigns of community services and that 31,261 youth were to date mobilized into literacy stations during the last eight rounds of the national drive.

Over 516,000 women have been organized in Wollo under the regional chapter of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association (REWA). They have been particularly praised for their rearguard role in the defence of the unity and territorial integrity of the Motherland. They have prepared and volunteered imperishable food to the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Industrial workers in Wollo number 12,536 and are organized under different All Ethiopia Trade Union branches.

State farms in Wollo, such as the Tendaho and Chefa, have provided opportunities for the introduction of modern agricultural technology in the region.

The peasantry in the vicinities of the state farms have benefitted considerably from modern farming practices of the farms which have also provided job opportunities to nearly 4,000 people.

Cattle breeding is well developed in Wollo region. There are about 11.5 million cattle in the region.

Industry, both heavy and small-scale, are operating in Wollo region. The Komboltcha Meat Canning Factory, the Komboltcha Tannery and the Soft Drinks Factory in Dessie are among the firms operating in Wollo.

Production in those firms surpassed by nine per cent their allotted quotas for the last fiscal year thus earning a total of 19,410,719 birr.

The Meat Canning Factory produces canned meat from 200-300 head of cattle every day while about 600,000 skins are produced annually from the Komboltcha Tannery. The Soft Drinks Factory in Dessie has an annual earning of over two million birr from the sale of its products since its nationalization.

Construction work is also underway over a textile project in Komboltcha. On completion, the mill will provide job opportunities to more than 3,400 people.

Branch offices of the Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation sell in the region essential commodities and other items worth 36 million birr every year.

Only three towns had electricity before the 1974 Revolution while over 20 have been electrified. Since then twenty towns today have access to potable drinking water. Wells have been sunk in areas with serious water shortage problems.

Transportation problem was among the leading limitation to development in Wollo prior to the Revolution. Today, more than 2,000 miles of surface road have been constructed mostly leading to inaccessible areas.

In addition, a microwave service facilitating direct communication link between Addis Ababa and Dessie, the capital of Wollo region has been installed.

The region's telecommunications centres are presently offering services to 2,900 clients.

There were very few health service centres during the pre-revolution period. Since the Revolution, five hospitals, 12 health centres and 114 clinics were established in line with the measures taken by the Revolutionary Government to expand health services so as to meet the health care needs of the broad masses.

In comparison to the health services before 1974, the present health facilities have grown by 325 per cent. The inhabitants of the region contribute to the growth of health services. Over 900 Kebele health agents and traditional midwives have been trained and are serving the community.

A commendable stride has also been recorded in reducing the region's rate of illiteracy which stood at 97 per cent during the feudo-bourgeois period. The

illiteracy rate has been reduced to its lowest level as a result of the national literacy campaign.

A total of 3,056 adults were trained in various skills. Around 3,200 children are enrolled in 47 kindergartens set up in the region after the Revolution.

Similarly, over 721,248 adults have been made literate through the past eight rounds of the literacy campaign conducted in the region, a total contribution of 1,490,683 birr was made by the inhabitants in support of the National Literacy Campaign.

With regards to the afforestation campaign launched to combat soil erosion and depletion of forests, over 120,000,000 tree-seedlings have been planted of which over 70 per cent have successfully grown.

The inhabitants of Wollo region are reported to be intensifying their struggle by consolidating the gains of the Revolution so as to realize the formation of the party of the working people. They reaffirm their readiness to pay the necessary sacrifices for the construction of an invincible defence force and a socialist economy.

CSO: 3400/47

TIGRAI REGION SCORES LAUDABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 15 Sep 83 p 8

[Text] Owing to the feudal system of land tenure, the inhabitants of Tigray region were made victims of hunger, disease and ignorance during the pre-revolution era.

The inhabitants of the region were made owners of the land they till, following proclamation on the nationalization of rural lands after the upsurge of the popular Ethiopian Revolution.

Tigray region has eight provinces with 56 districts inhabited by 2,245,800 people. It has an area of 65,000 square kilometers and its nationalities comprise the Afar, Agew, Oromo, Kunama and Tigrigna speaking people.

In line with the guidelines of the revolution, the people of Tigray region availed themselves of the opportunity to organize themselves into urban dwellers, peasants' associations and trade unions. They carry out self-initiated development schemes, such as afforestation soil and water conservation and cattle-rearing.

Efforts are also underway in the region to organize peasants and handicraftsmen into producers cooperatives thereby laying the basis for the socialist mode of production.

With regard to educational development, the number of schools after the revolution has increased three-fold

compared with those which existed before the Revolution. There are a total of 482 schools in the region today.

There were only two kindergartens located in the towns of Axum and Makale before the revolution. These have grown to 38 at present and enroll 3,159 children.

The inhabitants of Tigray are presently being emancipated from the shackles of illiteracy as a result of the nation-wide literacy drive proclaimed by the Revolutionary Government.

With the active participation of the region's inhabitants in the National Literacy Campaign within the framework of the first to the eighth rounds of the literacy programme, over 155,953 adults have been made literate.

As regards health services, very few health service facilities and centres existed before 1974. Today the facilities have increased by two-fold in line with the motto 'health for the broad masses'.

In the 23 towns of Tigray region, four town councils, five special highers, 14 special Kebeles have been established. Ten of the towns are administering themselves.

In the area of road communication, a total of 848 kilometers road network has been opened within the region.

Following the onset of the Ethiopian Revolution, the old manual system of telephone connections has been replaced by an automatic telephone exchange service.

Immense contributions are being made by the youth of Tigray region for the progress of the Ethiopian Revolution. There are 56 district REYA chapters and 209 basic youth associations in the region.

The peasants of the region are mounting their efforts to strengthen their organization and to ensure that the revolution attains its objectives and so that COPWE's mission is realised.

Immense victories have also been registered in the social, political, economic, and military fields of endeavour as a result of the struggle waged and still being waged by members of the regional All Ethiopia Trade Union (AETU).

On the whole, the inhabitants of Tigray region continue to play an active part in the ideological and arm struggle. They are always prepared to pay the necessary sacrifices for the formation of the party of the working people, for a strong defence force and for the construction of a socialist economy. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/47

SOCIOECONOMIC, POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GAMO GOFFA REPORTED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 16 Sep 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] Arba Mintch (ENA)--One of the most neglected regions during the former regime, Gamo Goffa region has been transformed into a dramatically changing area with promising socio-economic and political developments.

Gamo Goffa which is located in south west Ethiopia is inhabited by 1,300,000 people speaking some 22 vernaculars.

This region which is braced with beautiful natural resources of rivers, valleys forestry and wildlife has an area of 40,100 sq. kilometers consisting of four provinces and 22 districts.

Following the upsurge of the 1974 Revolution, encouraging results were registered with the active participation of the inhabitants of the region in various national endeavours including political, economic and social fields.

The inhabitants of the region, whose main occupation is farming, have been organized into 795 peasants associations. Ninety-eight peasants service cooperatives and 18 producers cooperatives have been established so far.

More than 1000 peasants and 726 women were given training in various vocational skills.

A total of 2811 workers have been organized into basic sectors and branches of the All Ethiopia Trade Union.

Over 435 handicraftsmen have also been organized into 11 service and four producers cooperatives which are presently stepping up their development efforts.

A total of 2777 hectares of farm plots have been cultivated in the region since the establishment of three state farms.

Urban Dwellers' Associations have also been formed in four provinces and 22 districts of the region.

In line with the directives given by the Revolutionary Government and COPWE to organize the Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Youth Associations (REWA and REYA), the youth of Gamo Goffa region have been organized into four provincial, 21 district and 298 basic REYA chapters, while women were organized into 801 basic REWA chapters.

As a result of the intense efforts exerted to expand the number of social service institutions in the region, the three hospitals, seven health centres, 58 clinics and 276 health personnel are rendering health services with commendable effort.

A total of 235,284 persons were offered primary health care training courses during the previous year while 87 health agents and 111 traditional midwives underwent modern training.

Similarly encouraging development was also seen in the education field. Accordingly, the number of elementary schools, 61 before the Revolution, has grown to 229 while the junior and senior secondary schools are presently seven. Student enrollment stands at 791,794 and that of teachers at 1925. A total of 160,686 adults have been emancipated from illiteracy since the launching of the nation wide literacy campaign. There are 23 kindergartens.

Some 565 kms. of all weather road running to formerly inaccessible areas of the region were also constructed in the last nine years.

Telephone and postal services have been upgraded after the Revolution thus opening communication facilities in the four provinces of the region.

In line with the measures taken to restore the wildlife and forestry resources of the nation, a total of 4,025,581 various kinds of tree seedlings have been planted through a number of afforestation campaigns launched in the region.

The regional branch of the Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation has distributed consumer goods worth 13,245,097 birr to the inhabitants of Gamo Goffa during the production year 1973-74 E. C.

With the encouragement of the Government sports activities have also been intensified in the region. There are 22 sports clubs and 218 teams actively engaged in the promotion of sports in Gamo Goffa region, it was learnt.

CSO: 3400/47

BRIEFS

JIBAT-METCHA CO-OP--Ambo (ENA)--The co-operative movement among peasants in Jibat-Metcha province, Shoa region, is producing satisfactory results in the social, economic and political fields. A total of 133 service co-operatives are functioning in the province with a capital of 3,106,972 birr according to Comrade Bekalu Teffera, Head of the Co-operatives Affairs of the provincial COPWE. Comrade Bekalu described the activities of the service co-operatives as highly encouraging and exemplary. The co-operatives in the current fiscal year distributed goods valued at upwards of 3,200,000 birr which were purchased from the Domestic Distribution Corporation. They also built warehouses, flour mills, offices and shops. One of the co-operatives has started cattle-breeding centre. There are presently 33 peasants producers' co-operatives in the preparatory stages in the province. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 17 Sep 83 p 3]

GRAIN MARKETING IN SHOA--Nazareth (ENA)--Grain marketing task forces in Shoa region have been commended for collecting over 1,026,426 quintals of grain from individual peasants during the last production year. The task forces are understood to have collected grain and cereals from peasants and supplied them to central markets for sale to the public through co-operative shops in regulated prices. Yerer-Kereyu and Haikotch-Butajira provinces of Shoa region were top on the list in meeting their quotas of grain supply allocated by the Grain Marketing Corporation. Modern silos of 787,000 quintals capacity have been installed in different parts of the region and more grain storage facilities are under construction. The storage capacity is around 60,000 quintals. Grain marketing task forces and the corporation are joining forces in ensuring systematic distribution of agricultural products in urban centres through a centralised mechanism. The aim in view is to curb merchant profiteering and artificial shortage of essential commodities. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 17 Sep 83 p 3]

KEY BAHIR GETS LIVESTOCK--Asmara (ENA)--Some 400 domestic animals have been distributed among people dislocated as a result of secessionist banditry in Kay-Bahir province of Eritrea region. The Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross were behind the resettlement project. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 17 Sep 83 p 3]

RAIN DAMAGE IN ASSOSSA--Assossa (ENA)--Torrential rains accompanied by hail-storm caused damage recently to crops in Assossa district of Wollega region.

The two-day heavy downpour destroyed harvest on 353 hectares of farm plots. Crops on another 312 hectares were damaged, according to the Hoha settlement project. Meanwhile, three persons died overwhelmed by flood in Wegera district, Gondar region. The heavy downpour also caused a landslide which killed several head of cattle. Some 50 head of cattle were reported to have been swept away by the flood while the heavy rain also destroyed crops on farm fields. Meanwhile, a heavy downpour accompanied by gusty wind destroyed 16 residential units and several grain storages in Gende-Beret district of Shoa region recently. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 17 Sep 83 p 3]

GONDAR INFRASTRUCTURES--Gondar (ENA)--Various infrastructural facilities built by the inhabitants of Gondar region were made operational last Tuesday. Over 2,400,000 birr was raised towards the construction of a multi-purpose institute, a revolution square, a stadium and a slaughter house. The regional AEPA office and dwelling units built for the executive members of the association at a cost of 88,981 birr and an office of the Development Campaign and Planning Council of Gondar province and the provincial mass organizations village are now operational. The facilities were inaugurated by Comrade Melaku Teferra, COPWE Central Committee member and COPWE representative for Gondar region. A permanent pictorial exhibition, sponsored by mass organizations, was also opened during the week. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Sep 83 p 6]

AUSTRIAN DONATION--The National Water Resources Commission yesterday secured a donation of wind mills and assorted water pumps valued at over 800,000 birr from the government of Austria. At a ceremony held at the Akaki Water Resources Commission central warehouse, Comrade Kefyalew Achamyeleh, Deputy Commissioner of the NWRC received the donation from H. E. Mr. Herbert Traxl, Ambassador of Austria to Socialist Ethiopia. Speaking on the occasion, Ambassador Traxl said that the consignment would be of help in sinking more drinking water wells and economize energy. Further assistance would continue, he added. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 16 Sep 83 p 1]

DEFENSE SQUAD CERTIFICATES--Mettu (ENA)--A total of 475 defence squad members from eight kebele peasants' association in Sor-Geba province, Illubabor region, received certificates Tuesday upon completion of a three-month training in ideological education and military skills. Comrade Simeon Galore, COPWE Central Committee member and COPWE representative for Illubabor region, handed over certificates to the defence squad members. Speaking on the occasion, Comrade Simeon said that Revolutionary Ethiopia had attained the present stage of the Revolution by overcoming internal enemies and foreign aggressors through the sacrifices of her genuine sons and daughters. He urged the trainees to work earnestly and honestly for the realization of the country's bright future. Speaking earlier, Comrade Aregay Ayele, Administrator of the Sor-Geba province, and Comrade Berhanu Merga, Chairman of the regional peasants' association made a statement in which they noted that the people in the region had earlier provided militiamen to serve in the various warfronts while providing a rearguard force in defence of the Motherland. Present at the ceremony were Comrade Animut Kinde, Chief Administrator of Illubabor region, regional COPWE committee

members, Military Commissar of the region and representatives of mass organizations and government agencies. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 15 Sep 83 p 5]

POLITICAL CADRES GRADUATE--The sixth batch of cadres who have followed a four-month political refresher course at the Political School of the Revolutionary Army graduated here yesterday. The graduation ceremony took place at the assembly hall of the Political School where cadres with outstanding results in Marxism-Leninism, in discipline and in other fields received prizes. The course has provided the political cadres the opportunity of visiting factories and co-operative institutions in order to relate theory with practice and to have a better understanding of the objective conditions of the country. Comrade Col. Kibret Gonite, First Deputy Head of the Main Political Department of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and COPWE Central Committee member, handed over the prizes to the political cadres. Comrade Col. Kibret said on the occasion that the political cadres are expected to make immense sacrifices to spread ideological education among the members of the Revolutionary Army and to implement the objectives of COPWE. Comrade Col. Kibret further advised the cadres to bear in mind their duty in the task of reaffirming the supremacy of the broad masses and of withstanding the attacks directed against the Revolution and the Motherland by internal and external reactionary forces under the patronage of imperialism. Speaking earlier, Comrade Major Reta Wakjira, Administrator of the Political School, described the graduating political cadres as vanguard revolutionaries who contributed significantly to defend the gains of the Ethiopian Revolution in the political, military, economic and social fields and to help register greater victories in the revolutionary process. (ENA) [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 15 Sep 83 p 5]

JIJIGA WATER STORAGE--Jijiga (ENA)--A water storage tank of the three million litre capacity has been constructed by the Livestock Development Project in Jijiga province, Hararghe region. The construction cost of the tank, which can provide water for 1,000 cattle for three consecutive months, was 111,658 birr. It was learnt that the facility would serve for 50 years. Comrade Kassegn Feleke, COPWE representative for Jijiga province, said at the inaugural ceremony that cattle breeders in the area had suffered for long from the problem of water scarcity. He recalled that the local people used to pay for water for their cattle, which often proved to be beyond their means. Comrade Kassegn admonished the community to properly handle the facility and reminded them of the need to remain vigilant against any sabotage owing to the fact that the tank was only 20 kms from the border. Earlier, a representative of the cattle development project appreciated the material contribution and labour volunteered by the cattle breeders and a community as a whole. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 13 Sep 83 p 13]

JIJIGA LIVESTOCK PROJECT--Jijiga (ENA)--The Jijiga Livestock Development Project in Hararghe region has initiated numerous cattle breeding, rangelands development, veterinary service and feeder road construction activities on a 33,000 square kms patch of land during 1982-83. A major initiative taken was the establishment of seven livestock breeders' associations among which nearly 500 improved stock of cattle were distributed. Upwards of a million head of cattle and other animals were vaccinated against endemic diseases in Jijiga,

Gursum and Deghabour provinces during the year, according to project officials. Access roads totalling 155 km in length were built and numerous water holes and springs were sunk during the same period. The project is being undertaken in the framework of a broader programme aimed at the permanent settlement of the traditionally nomadic population in the Ogaden area of eastern Ethiopia. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 9 Sep 83 p 3]

DEBRE SINA FACILITIES--Debre Berhan (ENA)--Public facilities--including two assembly halls, a kindergarten and 15 low-cost houses--constructed at a total cost of 87,500 birr were inaugurated during the week in Debre Sina town of Shoa region. The inaugural ceremony was highlighted with the award of certificates to organizations and individuals who made material and financial contributions in the construction work of the facilities. Comrade Belda Dadi, COPWE representative for Yifat-Timuga province, spoke at the inaugural ceremony noting that the local community should develop self-help practice. He also appreciated the sense of community co-operation in the implementation of the venture. Comrade Tirsit Sium, administrator of Debre Sina said earlier, that the newly constructed dwelling units would help ease the problem of housing shortage in the town. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 9 Sep 83 p 3]

AEPA DELEGATION RETURNS--A seven-man All Ethiopia Peasants' Association delegation headed by Comrade Abdella Sonnesa returned here yesterday following a study tour of four friendly socialist countries. The 26-day visit covered Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. Comrade Abdella, Chairman of the AEPA, said on arrival here at the Airport that the delegation signed cooperation agreement with the AEPA counterpart in the Czechoslovak People's Republic and also renewed previous agreement with that in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. He said the agreement provides for, among others, the training of AEPA cadres and the regular exchange of experience in the area of agriculture and agriculture-oriented activities. The delegation is understood to have visited several co-operative farms in the four socialist countries and to have made useful exchange of ideas with counterparts. Discussions were likewise held on areas of co-operation in the mutual struggle for world peace and the quest for general and comprehensive disarmament. The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Comrade Hunegnaw Ijigu, Deputy Chairman of the AEPA, and members of the Association's Executive Committee. (ENA) [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 9 Sep 83 p 3]

OFFICERS GRADUATE--Holeta (ENA)--The second batch of officers trained at the Combined Higher Military Training School received certificates and prizes yesterday on completion of a five month course in military science and political education. The officers had distinguished themselves in their long-services in the Revolutionary Army as well as for their heroism and industriousness. Selected from the four sector commands, the officers had followed leadership training and had acquired knowledge of military science during their training session to reinforce their practical experience. Certificates and prizes to the officers were handed over by Comrade Brig. Gen. Hailu Gebre-Michael, Deputy Commander and Chief of Staff of the Ground Forces, at a ceremony held at the Holeta Genet within the compound of the school. Speaking at the

ceremony, Comrade Brig. Gen. Hailu called on the officers to follow the good example set by heroic members of the Revolutionary Army and to fulfil their duties in the revolutionary struggle. Earlier, Comrade Brig. Gen. Esceto Mekonnen, Commandant of the training school, said that the course was conducted in accordance with the directives given by the Revolutionary Government and COPWE to further strengthen the national defence. The ceremony was attended by senior officers of the Ground Forces, comrades from socialist countries and other invited guests. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 11 Sep 83 pp 1, 6]

POLITICAL SCHOOL GRADUATES--The 16th batch of trainees at the Yekatit '66 Political School graduated yesterday. The 260 participants in the specially organized month-long training course comprised judges, prosecutors and registrars drawn from the various branches of the Ministry of Law and Justice. Certificates of accomplishment were handed over by Comrade Roberto Jiggano, Director of the Yekatit '66 Political School and COPWE Central Committee member. Comrade Roberto underlined the pivotal role of trained cadres in the legal profession in countries which, like Ethiopia, are in a stage of transition. He said committed service to the causes of the revolution, the broad masses and to the nation's set objectives must be a priority concern of the graduating batch. Representatives of the graduates later presented various equipment for use by the Political School. Present on the occasion were Comrade Abdulmenan Ahmed, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Comrade Kebede Gebre-Mariam, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Law and Justice, and staff members of the Political School, as well as relatives and friends of the graduates. (ENA) [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 9 Sep 83 pp 1, 3]

CSO: 3400/47

GHANA

BRIEFS

CHANGE IN CURRENCY RATE--The Bank of Ghana announces for the information of authorized dealers that with immediate effect, the Bank of Ghana notice to banks number BGF 832 of April 28, 1983, concerning the administration of surcharges and other schemes is no longer operative. Accordingly, authorized dealers are informed that with effect from tomorrow, all foreign exchange transactions should be conducted at the rate of U.S. \$1 to 30 cedis, that is the equivalent of the existent surcharge rate of 9.9. [Text] [AB102055 Accra Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 10 Oct 83]

OUTGOING POLISH ENVOY--The outgoing Polish charge d'affaires in Ghana, Mr Kazimier Drabowski, today paid a farewell call on the chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings at the Castle, Osu. In a discussion, the envoy spoke about his country's experiences in its development. He said the PNDC has a great advantage so far as the PDCS [People's Defense Committees] are concerned in the revolutionary process. Mr Dabrowski, however, cautioned that without the central authority, there will be anarchy. The envoy emphasized that the PDCS must realize that they cannot function without consulting the people at the grassroots. On his part, Flight Lt Rawlings said Ghana has a lot to learn from the Polish experience. [Text] [AB111900 Accra Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 11 Oct 83]

ENIN RECEIVES SPANISH AMBASSADOR--The Spanish ambassador to Ghana, Mr Jose Maria Sierra y Nava, today called on Mrs Anna Enin, member of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] at the castle. The envoy explained to her the foreign policy of the Spanish Government with special emphasis on [words indistinct]. On bilateral relations, Mr Nava underlined the good relations between the two countries and mentioned several projects for cooperation. He disclosed that a Spanish vessel will arrive at Tema harbor next month with 2,500 tons of goods as a gift from the Spanish Government. Most of the proceeds from the sale of the goods will be paid into funds to support all specified hospitals in Ghana. Mrs Enin told the envoy that the PNDC is following a policy of nonalignment in the interest and well-being of the majority of Ghanaians as a guiding principle. In this regard, the PNDC will accept aid either from the East or the West so far as this basic objective is not compromised. [Text] [AB112115 Accra Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 11 Oct 83]

CSO: 3400/63

GUINEA

SEKOU TOURE INTERVIEWED ON SUMMIT, CHAD, OTHER ISSUES

AB081120 Conakry Domestic Service in French 0645 GMT 7 Oct 83

[Interview granted by President Ahmed Sekou Toure, supreme leader of the revolution, to unidentified representatives of 18 media houses--radio, press agency, television and newspaper--at his official residence at the Grand Hotel in Vittel on Tuesday, 4 October 1983--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr President, now that the summit has really matured, do you think that this kind of meeting is useful and can solve the problems that are presented to it?

[Toure] We are not yet at the end of our deliberations; it is difficult to give impressions. However, I can assert that the atmosphere in which the deliberations are taking place convinces us that they are useful and will certainly lead to positive results. This kind of meeting enables partners to understand one another and without understanding it is difficult to reach a unity of action among states so diverse in their development standards and even in their preoccupations concerning their government and people. This is to say that we have the right framework, and the contents of the deliberations are guarantees for a positive result.

[Question] I think that everybody here realizes the fact that Chad has been dominating Vittel. Can you explain to us where the debates are heading and what will probably be, if necessary, the suggested solution?

[Question by another journalist] And what has become of what is already being termed the Guinean initiative?

[Question indistinct by another journalist]

[Toure] I think that the Chadian problem, which has already been preoccupying most countries of the world and in particular those in Africa, really deserves a prime place at this conference attended by nearly 40 African heads of state and Chad. The problem was presented in so many ways that it caused some confusion. The way the data of a problem are presented can make its solution either easy or difficult.

As for us, we took into consideration the fundamental interests of the Chadian people. Beyond the leaders, the Chadian people and state must be our first consideration since they are lasting entities, while human beings come into being and die--although some human beings embody everlasting values too.

In the interest of the people, we have considered the safeguarding of the territorial integrity of the Chadian nation and the safeguarding of the Chadian people's unity. And obviously, to attain these goals, a climate is required, and this climate can only be the unity of the cadres and the political parties and of the Chadian sons, which is only possible through reconciliation among the Chadian people who are manifesting their division. The three points are as follows: territorial integrity, national unity, and the safeguarding of the Chadian state's sovereignty. Finally, of paramount importance in reaching these goals, national reconciliation is required.

[Question] Under which form? What form can it take?

[Question by another journalist] [words indistinct] Can they meet now? Who will meet whom? [words indistinct]

[Question by another journalist] Do you feel that Hissein Habre is ready to sit at a negotiation table, to negotiate with Goukouni, his enemy brother?

[Toure] I do not feel, I am sure. It is no longer a question of impression as President Hissein Habre made a speech appealing to the conference in order to get from it the required help to create the conditions for a national reconciliation. I am convinced that if the states that are represented here give their support to the Chadian Government and contact all the Chadians now involved in the war, no doubt this reconciliation will come to pass. This will give relief to the Chadian people as well as to all friendly people.

[Question] Have you already gotten Libyan reaction or have you had contacts with Libyans while having discussions here? Are contacts being made with Al-Qadhdhafi from Vittel? During your talks here, are there any talks now with Libyans?

[Toure] Al-Qadhdhafi has said that he is not a party involved in the war. The official stand of my brother Al-Qadhdhafi is that it is the Chadians fighting for power who are at the source of the war in Chad. In that case, those who are particularly concerned are the Chadians, and this is why, by tackling the problem of reconciliation among the Chadians, we will have reached the solution of peace in Chad.

[Question] Mr President, Hissein Habre wants only to negotiate with Libya and then with the Chadians afterward. [words indistinct]

[Toure] This was an earlier stand strongly asserted by Hissein Habre. We could not take that into account. We only consider what he has just told us here.

[Question] Has he changed his stand?

[Toure] I do not know whether he has changed. As far as I am concerned, he has not changed because the aim is the same. The external aspects of a situation can be changed, and the circumstances we are examining determine what the best courses to take are.

[Question] Mr President, do you feel now that Habre is ready to negotiate?

[Toure] Hissein Habre has stated his total readiness to hold talks with all Chadians with a view to establishing political unity in Chad, as condition for peace for the Chadian people and I grant this statement all the required value. This is an unequivocal political stand, and this is why Guinea asked the conference to take this appeal into consideration and to grant the necessary help to the Chadians in order to achieve this reconciliation.

[Question indistinct]

[Toure] Of course, a political determination will be formulated which will indicate the direction to be taken by the activities of all. What is necessary here is the unity of all, that is, the nobility of the aims and objectives which are to be achieved.

[Question] Mr President, [words indistinct] some heads of state do not quite agree with the speech made by President Mobutu.

[Toure] I do not know about that. All those present at the conference hailed the speech by President Mobutu here. What President Mobutu stated was of course the expression of the will of our people and states.

[Question] Mr President you are going to be the AOU president next June. You already have before you two big problems, the Chadian and Western Saharan problems. In what way are you preparing yourself?

[Toure] Well, I don't think the problems of Chad and Western Sahara are the only major problems that preoccupy the peoples of Africa. We have far more serious economic and political problems, and I think, for example, the Namibian question is a major one. South Africa's acts of aggression against many neighboring countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola constitute a very serious problem that must preoccupy the peoples of Africa. We also have the problem of the valuation of our raw materials. And today with the prevailing world economic crisis, the consequences of which are very telling on the living conditions of our peoples, we have the duty to review our economic programs and to join forces to find rapid and rational solutions to remedy them. I know that the Chadian and Western Saharan problems continue to bother us, but they are not our only preoccupations.

[Question] Mr President, have Mr Goukouni and his collaborators already been informed of the new stand you have just taken?

[Toure] For the moment, no official decision has been made here and the conference through its recommendations will indicate its viewpoints on the problems it will examine. Before Mr Goukouni or other personalities [words indistinct]. We cannot speak in advance about Mr Goukouni's reaction when the declaration has not been made public.

[Question] [Words indistinct] this evening during the press conference?

[Toure] I believe that since the conference ends today, it will make clear its viewpoints on the various issues confronted by the summit.

[Question] Mr President, you said the conference will provide the means [words indistinct]?

[Toure] Who spoke about means to provide to Hissein Habre?

[Question] The means to attain national reconciliation?

[Toure] No, I said the means to satisfy the noble ideals, respect for territorial integrity, safeguarding of the unity of the Chadian people. The means, I repeat, is first of all the political reconciliation, that is, for every goal there is a means, and here the means is for the Chadians to be able to create a climate of peace and concord.

[Question indistinct]

[Toure] And the means here does not refer to a material point. I am speaking in your language, French, in which 'means' is not always objective.

[Question indistinct]

[Toure] If you like, the determining factor to achieve these goals is political reconciliation.

[Question] Do you have a way of implementing the recommendations you will make at this conference?

[Toure] The conference will say it today. We say the OAU still has its responsibility with respect to each member state and Chad is a member state, a founding member state of the OAU. But can the conference decide here what duties must be given to the OAU? We shall discuss this, but for the moment I will not answer.

[Question] Following this conference, under what form will the new group hold discussions on the Sekou Toure initiative? Has a date been fixed for such a meeting?

[Toure] You want to christen an unborn child whose sex we do not yet know!
[laughter] With me you must be careful in an interview.

[Question] But it is customary...

[Toure] I would want logic to prevail in our dialogue. I cannot anticipate. The declaration has not yet been made public so that I can comment on it.

[Question] But have you already had some contacts this very morning with several (?heads of state)?

[Toure] This goes without saying. I made all the necessary contacts.

[Question] Would you consider Mr Goukouni Oueddei [words indistinct]?

[Toure] I cannot tell. I do not have to say anything about the morality of the attitude of my brother Goukouni, but I can appreciate the consequences of the situation that pits Chadians against other Chadians.

[Question] Mr Goukouni himself does not recognize Hissein Habre as the head of state of Chad or his president...

[Toure, interrupting] No, Goukouni said without any preconditions he is prepared to hold discussions with Hissein Habre. That I have heard.

[Question] No...

[Toure, interrupting] Yes, I have heard that. I have the dispatch.

[Question] Mr President, how do you judge the intervention by the French forces in Chad? [words indistinct]

[Toure] You are French and you can better appreciate the decisions of your government, but I say that if African states had the means to assist the brotherly country of Chad, they would willingly have done so. And in view of the insufficiency of means at the disposal of African states, France, which has entered into a legal agreement with Chad, had the right to intervene; therefore, it intervened at the request of the legal Government of Chad.

[Question] [Words indistinct] OAU, how do you view the evolution of the Saharan conflict and especially [words indistinct]?

[Toure] With pleasure as concerns the Saharan problem. I have dealt with it in a declaration whose text you will get soon. But I would tell you that in every action there are two fundamental data which are derived from one another. The first datum is a purpose of action, the why of the action, which at the same time defines the morality of the action. The second is the means to be used in order to achieve the set goal. What do we want in Western Sahara? It is peace. And this peace is only possible through

consultation of the Sahara people. Therefore, for the OAU referendum becomes the supreme goal to achieve and through which the Saharan people will indicate its preference.

[Question] So that, according to you, Mr President, all that is preventing the implementation of this referendum is evidently an obstacle?

[Toure] I won't say that. The referendum has already been decided upon by the OAU from Nairobi, and the meeting which was just held in Addis Ababa from 21 to 22 of this month. [as heard] I participated in it in my capacity as a member of the OAU Implementation Committee on Western Sahara. The meeting discussed OAU Resolution 104 whose provision number 2 exhorted the parties in the conflict to start direct negotiations. Article 3 invited the Implementation Committee to convene a meeting as soon as possible with the interested parties in the conflict with a view to defining the final modalities for ceasefire and referendum. Article 2 was not fulfilled because it was not possible to have these direct negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario, but Article 3 was fulfilled since the members of the committee went to Addis Ababa in order to define the modalities. We therefore say that there has been no failure. The modalities have been drawn up now and the two sides are going to present their points of view, and certainly they will call for some amendments and the negotiations will continue until the two sides fully agree with our proposals before they go to the referendum. We therefore say that the essential thing for Western Sahara is the referendum and all that oppose the referendum will therefore want to revive the war, and we are satisfied that his majesty king of Morocco declared on the platform of the United Nations, publicly and solemnly, that Morocco feels obliged and bound to respect the results of the referendum and that at any moment it is prepared for the OAU and the United Nations to proceed with consultations with respect to the Saharan people. As far as we are concerned, this is the essential thing. The rest is the form to be taken by the action.

[Question] [Words indistinct] is that necessary?

[Toure] I would say it is not necessary to hold direct negotiations. You are journalists, therefore, you participate in history. You cannot cite me a case in which belligerent forces engaged in armed warfare managed all by themselves to identify their points of dispute, to discuss them, and to resolve them all by themselves. There is no such example.

[Question] Is there not?

[Toure] No, there is not! What step was France to take? There must always be a third party. In Vietnam France played a role between America and the Vietnamese and the conference was held in Paris. Israel has complied with many ceasefire decisions without ever having to directly meet with the Arab countries at a conference table. In the case of Namibia, South Africa does not recognize the SWAPO and has never held direct negotiations with it.

This justified the setting up of the contact group of which France is a member and within which France plays a positive role.

In a nutshell, all the conflicts we know have so far been resolved thanks to the mediation of a third party. If the formula of direct negotiations made it possible to define the parties involved in the conflicts, it would be meaningful. But now, such a formula cannot lead to a solution of the Western Saharan issue. If a rapid and effective solution should be found, then the OAU and the United Nations must continue to play a role until a ceasefire is signed, a referendum held, the result of which must be respected, as well as the decision of the Saharans themselves.

[Question] Last question, Mr President: Concerning the Chadian problem, which is the most important? We have heard about Hissein Habre's new attitude. He is said to be ready for reconciliation. However, are there any preconditions for the withdrawal of the troops occupying northern Chad?

[Toure] I would request you to kindly wait for the declaration which will consist of the conditions for the achievement of the objective.

[Journalists] Thank you, Mr President. [end recording]

CSO: 3419/28

LESOTHO

MINISTER WANTS OBSERVER AT RSA MINE INQUEST

MB130833 Maseru Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] The Lesotho Government yesterday informed the South African Chamber of Mines that it will send a legal representative to any inquest that the South African authorities will hold into the cause of the Hlobane coal mine disaster. The disaster, which took place in Hlobane in the Natal Province of South Africa on 12 September, killed some 63 miners, of whom 22 were Basotho. There are some 150,000 Basotho working in the South African mining industry annually. Soon after the disaster, officials of the black South African Union of Mine Workers charged that the safety measures employed at the mine were not adequate.

In a letter to the South African Chamber of Mines, the Lesotho minister of planning, employment and economic affairs, who is also foreign minister, Mr E.R. Sekhonyana, said that the Government of Lesotho had some vested interest in the coal mine disaster. He added that in the event of an inquest taking place in South Africa, he requested that the Government of Lesotho be allowed to have some representatives on observer status. He sought that Lesotho be advised of the date and venue of such an inquest.

Soon after the disaster, a national mourning service attended by King Moshoeshoe II and the prime minister, Dr Leabua Jonathan, was held in Maseru.

CSO: 3400/78

LESOTHO

KING TO OPEN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

MB130826 Maseru Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II will officially open the inaugural congress of the Southern African Development Research Association, SADRA, and a workshop on development and destabilization in Southern Africa at the National University of Lesotho [NUL] at Roma on Tuesday next week. Making the announcement yesterday, the director of the Institute of Southern African Studies at NUL, Dr (Michael Sefali), said the institute was hosting the inaugural congress on behalf of SADRA.

Dr (Sefali) said delegates to the inaugural congress of SADRA will include directors of research institutes as well as researchers and scholars from universities in the nine member countries of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC], which are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Scholars from outside the SADCC countries have also been invited to present papers on the theme of the workshop.

Dr (Sefali) said the decision to hold the workshop with a theme on development and destabilization in Southern Africa was taken at the second meeting of the regional continuation committee of SADRA held in Maseru earlier this year. He said the meeting of SADRA's regional continuation committee was held against the background of increased destabilization campaigns by the government of the Republic of South Africa against neighboring nations in Southern Africa. This was exemplified by the December raid on Maseru last year by the South African Defense Force.

The inaugural congress and workshop of SADRA will be conducted in two stages. The first day, on Monday, will be strictly devoted to business matters such as discussion of the report of the secretary of the regional continuation committee, Dr (Sefali), and the adoption of the SADRA constitution, including the election of the committees and officials of the organization. Dr (Sefali) said for the rest of the congress and workshop, from Tuesday until Thursday next week, the delegates will focus their deliberations on in depth discussion of the problems of development and destabilization in Southern Africa in all its facets.

The foreign minister, the honorable E.R. Sekhonyana, will deliver the keynote address on the opening session on Tuesday.

CSO: 3400/78

LESOTHO

BRIEFS

OPPOSITION LEADER ISSUES APPEAL--The leader of the opposition United Democratic Party of Lesotho, Mr Charles Mofeli, has appealed to the international community to stop giving economic aid to Lesotho until the prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, holds a free and fair election. The appeal was made particularly to the governments of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries. Mr Mofeli said Chief Jonathan had banned an opposition electioneering campaign when he himself was campaigning in preparation for a general election. He said the prime minister had turned to what he termed state of emergency tactics as part of his plan to ban opposition parties in Lesotho. Mr Mofeli said candidates of his party were being prevented by the police from holding political rallies. A strong protest note had been sent to the Lesotho commissioner of police, but so far no action had been taken. [Text] [MB121108 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 12 Oct 83]

CSO: 3400/78

SPECIAL THEFT COURT SITTINGS SUSPENDED

Judges Suspended

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 9 Sep 83 pp 1, 10

[Text] In a surprise move yesterday, the Head of State and Chairman of the PRC, CJC Dr. Samuel Kanyon Doe, dismissed the three judges of the Special Theft Court and suspended the activities of the court until new judges are appointed.

Dr. Doe took the decision after he visited the court yesterday and later met with the three judges at the Executive Mansion.

According to an Executive Mansion press release, the Liberian leader said his decision to relieve the judges was based on general misunderstanding among them, particularly their tendency to be easily influenced by external forces, coupled with poor credibility of their performance.

The three judges who

were appointed to the post early last year are Jimmie Geizue, Arthur K. Williams and Brig./Gen. Frank Senkpeni.

The release quoted the Head of State as saying that the dismissal of the judges did not affect the structure nor the functioning of the court.

Last Tuesday morning, Chief Judge Geizue announced the suspension of further sittings of the court until a controversy between him and Judge Williams could be resolved by the Head of State.

In his reaction yesterday, Head of State Doe said that drastic action will be taken against anyone caught in indulging in such misuse of his name.

Dr Doe said no one

should submit to such pressure or intimidation, saying only a letter from him should be sufficient to determine action on a particular matter.

According to the press release, security forces have been alerted to apprehend anyone caught using Dr. Doe's name to promote their selfish interests.

MISUNDERSTANDING

The misunderstanding between Judges Geizue and Williams is said to have started following the August 17 court's ruling on the \$160,000 insurance claims case in favour of S.B. Mensah, Assistant General Manager of the American International Underwriters in Monrovia, and Abass M. Ajami and Manohar Wadhwani, former owner and comptroller of the Liberia Battery Manufacturing Company.

Judge Williams dissented in the ruling.

Then came the releasing of original documents owned by the Liberia Battery Manufacturing Company (LBMC) which were tendered in evidence when its former owner was prosecuted.

Lawyers for LBMC last Tuesday requested from the court their original record, as the company has been

[text missing]

won the case in the Theft Court.

Judge Geizue reportedly agreed to give the lawyers only the photocopies of the documents, stating that he was doing so because the documents have become part of the court's record, and so they could not be released to LBMC.

Reports said Judge Williams disagreed with the Chief Judge on grounds that the LBMC was entitled to its original copies of the documents, since the records rightfully belonged to the company prior to their coming to court.

ARGUMENT

An extensive argument between the two judges in the court's chambers then ensued. Chief Judge Geizue

went into the courtroom where lawyers and the accused in the \$1.9 million misapplication case had been waiting, and announced that trial of the case had been suspended.

To the surprise of those involved in the Hilary Dennis case, the Chief Judge said the court would not resume until the Head of State intervened in the matter between him and Judge Williams.

He said either he or Judge Williams would have to be removed from the Theft Court, as he could no longer tolerate the disrespect continuously shown by Judge Williams.

Judge Williams, for his part, vowed to make public in the press certain covert issues at the court if the Head of State asked him to write an observation about the misunderstanding between two of them.

Justice Questioned

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 9 Sep 83 p 4

[Editorial: "A Judicious Opportunity"]

[Text]

THE SWIFT AND unexpected action which the Head of State took yesterday in removing the three Judges of the Special Theft Court provides an opportunity for Government to take a closer look at the court, its functions, its performances to date, and the necessity for its continued existence.

FROM THE TIME that it was set up, the Court has been the scene of squabbling among the Judges. It has also come under quiet criticism from a number of lawyers who felt that there is no real need for a Special Court and that all cases of alleged theft and other matters should be handled under the regular Court system which operates with the Supreme Court at the top.

SOME HAVE SAID, and rightly so, that part of the problem was that the Court felt too powerful since there was no jury which could pass verdict on evidence placed before it. Additionally, the Court's decisions are final and no appeal can be taken to another judicial authority.

THIS KIND OF Carte Blanche authority has led to all sorts of things with the Judges frequently telling lawyers that it is a special court and that normal rules and procedures do not apply. Sometimes, lawyers and witnesses have been given all sorts of latitude that would not normally apply in a respectable court of record.

OF COURSE, IF the Special Theft Court has strayed off course as the Head of State pointed out in his action yesterday, more than the Judges are to be blamed for this situation.

FIRSTLY, THERE ARE those in the Executive arm of Government whose duty it is to advise the Head of State and the PRC on matters of Justice, and equal and fair treatment before the law. Have they done their duty?

SECONDLY, THERE ARE others in judicial authority whose own functioning, authority and morale have certainly been affected by the spectacle at the Theft Court and who should have brought pressure to bear, either directly or indirectly, in order to remedy the situation. Have they done their duty?

THIRDLY, THERE ARE the lawyers in this country, organized under the National Bar Association, whose very prestige, reputation and daily bread are affected when the judiciary goes awry. In other countries, particularly in other West African countries, the National Bar Association is a powerful and influential organization and the smooth operation of the entire legal and judicial system depends upon their integrity and effectiveness as a professional force for justice and fair play. Has our National Bar Association done its duty?

THE ANSWER, IN all three instances, would seem to be a resounding NO!

TOO OFTEN IN this country we see a deteriorating situation and fail to take the action expected of us, for a variety of reasons. Some of us, because of plain complacency. Others, because we think that what is happening is favoured by those in authority. And, still others, because we are afraid that what we might say could affect us personally.

WE FORGET THAT in the final analysis, we do ourselves and our country a great disservice by not calling a spade a spade.

THE HEAD OF State took the action yesterday because of the recent behaviour of some of the Judges on the Bench and therefore in the Executive Mansion Press release yesterday, he pointed out that "the dismissal of the Judges does not affect the structure nor functioning of the Court."

WE DO NOT wish to make it appear that we are qualified to advise the Head of State on what is proper, but we feel that in the interest of the nation, indeed, in the interest of justice, the dismissal of the Judges should afford us the opportunity to look into the entire need for a Special Theft Court.

IN ALL DUE respect, we wish to advise that the Head of State should consult with the President and Members of the Legal Bar Association, the Officials of the Justice Ministry, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Chairman of the Supreme Military Tribunal and get their advice and then determine whether the Special Theft Court is serving any useful purpose in the administration of justice in the country.

WHILE IT IS not for us to pass judgement on the integrity and honesty of those who have served as Judges of the Theft Court, it would seem that the cloud which has overshadowed their hearings since they began to sit testifies to the lack of transparent justice which it was intended to mete out in the early days of the Revolution.

AS WE APPROACH the return of the country to civilian rule in this country, we are of the strong opinion that all of the courts of this country must operate under the same judicial authority with the Supreme Court at the top and under the same general rules and procedures.

FOR, IF JUSTICE is really blind and all must be held equal before the law, then it is difficult to see how this can be done under different systems of justice.

CSO: 3400/44

HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE DISCUSSES STUDENT UNREST

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 2 Sep 83 p 7

[Article by Robert M. Kesselly: "The Students' Dilemma--An Angry View"]

[Excerpt] Quite recently, students of this country have been under severe attack from both school authorities and the local press for the outbreak of violence in some major institutions which resulted in the flogging of some school administrators and the subsequent damaging of school properties. This act on the part of students has been termed by school authorities as "vandalism and lawlessness."

As usual, students charged their authorities with misappropriating school funds allocated for development purposes. When all efforts on their part to get the authorities refund their money and to bring improvements on campuses especially in the case of BWI, they applied the "Mighty Makes Rights" formula to solve their problems.

Moreover, I want you to remember that two-thirds of the students in this country are the sons and daughters of the proletariat and peasantry and that whatever amount of money given to them for scholastic affairs was highly worked for.

Most of our parents worked for long hours in deplorable conditions for low wages while others in the hinterland laboured from sunrise to sunset just so as to keep us in school and to see such money going into the pockets of few who did not work for it is something painful.

There are some school administrators who might think that I am advocating rebellion in our schools. It is not so. Far from that. I only want to find the cause.

To say therefore that students should only pay attention to their academic struggle and forget about existing realities is something difficult to do, because after leaving school it is this same society that will either accept or reject us based on the type of life we want to live.

In his editorial of the July 14 edition of the *Daily Observer* the editor maintained that "something must be done to curb the growing student unrest in the country." I do agree with him but it is also natural that something must be done too to stop these greedy and corrupt school administrators from misappropriating funds collected from students for development purposes.

LIBERIA

GOVERNMENT RECEIVES APOLOGY FROM WCL SECRETARY GENERAL

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 5 Sep 83 p 3

[Text] Labour Minister E. Sumo Jones has said that the Liberian government reserves the right to be fully informed about the activities of foreign unionists wishing to visit Liberia for talks with any suspended union.

He said while the government was committed to its "open door" policy, visitors coming to hold discussions with officials of "unrecognized" organizations in Liberia must first obtain permission from Government before entering into the country.

Minister Jones, whose statement was contained in a Labour Ministry release issued Thursday, made particular mention of a recent visit to Liberia by Mr. Coen Damen, secretary general of the World Confederation of Labour, (WCL).

Mr. Damen arrived in Liberia Tuesday from Brussels upon the invitation of the suspended National Agriculture and Allied Workers' Union of Liberia (NAAWUL).

Minister Jones pointed out that Mr. Damen wrote his ministry earlier this year expressing his desire to visit Liberia, but was urged not to make the trip as officials of the ministry would not be available to see him.

Minister Jones observed that Mr. Damen acted "out of character," and added that his actions were inconsistent with the regulations of the International Labour Organization of which the WCL is an affiliate.

He said Mr. Damen has already visited the headquarters of Liberia Marketing Association, the National Teachers' Association, and addressed member of the union at the William V. S. Tubman High School in Sinkor since his arrival in the country.

Minister Jones described Mr. Damen's action as "unwholesome practice," which he emphasised could have adverse consequences on workers who do not understand the dynamics of global forces and trade unionism.

Meanwhile, the WCL secretary general has regretted the situation and apologized to the Liberian government through Minister Jones.

He told Labour Ministry officials during a meeting Thursday that he was not aware of the suspension imposed by government on NAAWUL, and promised that he would be guided by government's policy regarding the issue.

In separate remarks, the president of the National Teachers' Association and the vice president of the Marketing Association who accompanied Mr. Damen to the Labour Ministry, expressed regrets for the "embarrassing situation," and promised not to associate themselves with such practices in the future.--
LINA

CSO: 3400/45

NATIONAL PORT AUTHORITY APPEALS FOR CALM IN OVERTIME ISSUE

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 2 Sep 83 p 3

[Text] The Managing Director of the National Port Authority (NPA), Dr. J. Bernard Blamo, has appealed to workers of the Marine Department at the port to remain calm in their demand for the payment of over \$70,000 owed them by management.

He said although management was aware of its obligations to the workers, it is presently faced with serious financial problems which has made it difficult to pay the "legitimate overtime" earned by the workers from May through August, 1982.

In September last year, the workers lodged a complaint to the Ministry of Labor against NPA management for failure to pay justifiable overtime earned by them (workers), even though the hours had been approved by their immediate department head.

Following the complaint, an investigation was conducted by the Ministry at which time it was observed that NPA had "wilfully, wrongfully and without any legal color of right refused to pay the employees' legitimate overtime hours."

It was then ruled by the Labor Ministry on September 23, 1982 that the NPA management pay the employees' overtime hours at the rate of time and a half to which management promised to comply.

But, to the workers surprise, management did not meet up with the promise made to the Labor Ministry.

Instead, a memorandum was issued early last September announcing an official working hours of the Marine Department.

The memorandum, however, clarified that where a vessel had to "sail or berth between 1500 hours and 1700 hours", the marine pilot would request that the second shift continue the operation for which they would be paid.

It concluded: "I (chief pilot and harbor master) am convinced of the conviction that the new official working hours will enable the Marine Department to monitor the activities of the personnel whilst curbing all irregularities leading to absenteeism and unnecessary overtime."

Despite the memorandum, a spokesman for the workers said they had continued to work extra hours without any compensation.

It was in this light, the spokesman added, that on August 22, 1983, workers of the Marine Department wrote management informing them of their discontinuation to work overtime because of management's failure to comply with ruling of the Ministry of Labor.

CSO: 3400/45

DE-MONOPOLIZATION OF OIL IMPORTS EXAMINED

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 8 Sep 83 pp 4, 6, 7

[Article by Joseph A. Davies]

[Text] Recently, the People's Redemption Council Government, headed by Dr. Samuel K. Doe, published an Executive Ordinance designed to de-monopolize the importation of petroleum products, a functional responsibility of the Liberia Petroleum Refining Company, LPRC. By opening the market to all interested dealers, traders, et. al., it is hoped the nation could be spared from embarrassment of a petroleum product shortage as was experienced in March, 1983; and hopefully, reduced prices at the pump, if such could occur through the forces of demand and supply as is found in free competitive markets.

The effects of this Executive Ordinance could relieve government from oil imports financing. The allocation of the foreign exchange earnings would then be put to viable socio-economic projects.

Although one must hail this as a step in the proper direction, however, the implications and technical ramifications resulting from this Ordinance must be understood, analyzed, and placed in the proper framework, while expecting solutions.

Within this context, I hereby present this analytical review of

the Ordinance which is designed to de-monopolize oil imports; the implications, prospects, and consequences on the national economy, and in like manner recommend what is determined as a means to resolve the apparent contradictions.

Implications Of De-monopolization Of Oil Imports

What are the benefits of policy pronouncements in terms of economic confusion? Policy pronouncements have the effect of defining a position on a particular issue, be it controversial, political, economical, or technical; providing clarity, consistency, and demarcating one's own position from the conflict.

On the other hand, the success of a government policy pronouncement depends upon its agent or agency responsible to formulate, articulate, implement, and review said policy, and ensure society's maximum benefits. Therefore, a policy which is accompanied by a clearly defined agency is good and can become successful. While on the other hand, a policy without an agency could be translated bad or become unsuccessful.

The policy to de-monopolize oil imports and thus open the market to dealers, traders, et. al., does not have a qualified, suitable agency responsible to formulate, articulate, implement, and review said policy ordinance while ensuring the maximum benefits of the society. Therefore, this policy could be doomed to failure, if.

The implications of an open market system to support the importation of petroleum products, is consistent with Liberia's avowed belief in the Free Market System, and the nation's Open Door Policy. It is a demonstration of clarity in Liberia's economic philosophy, and a commitment to uphold the principles of a free enterprise economy.

Liberia's present state of the economy is one of stagnation, illiquidity deficit balance of trade, lagging productivity, and an extensive government ownership and control of productive assets.

To remove these plaguing shortcomings, the International Monetary Fund, IMF, has been and is offering Liberia assistances to support government budgetary expenditures and provide additional Special Drawing Rights, SDR, to reduce

the affects of deficit trade balances.

It is within the context of the latter that the government is forced to de-monopolize oil importation in the hope of improving the nation's liquidity.

What difference does it make if government, or LPRC, or a private dealer were to bear the costs of oil importation? The National Bank of Liberia, NBL, would still have to allocate foreign exchange; whether foreign exchange earned from exports, or IMF allocation of SDR's, does not really matter within the framework of Liberia macro-economics. What is important and is at issue, is that the financing of oil importation requires foreign exchange. Whether foreign exchange allocated, earned from exports, or generated from private production, must and still be transferred by the National Bank of Liberia.

Therefore, the question of an open market system to support oil imports serving to alleviate government from same, is an illusion, because in the final analysis, the National Bank will still be obligated to provide all needed foreign exchange to finance international trade and returns to direct foreign investments.

In essence, the solution expected from this measure will not likely occur because it is in direct contradiction to the macro-economic principles of the Liberian Economy.

Is LPRC designed to support massive oil importation by the private sector? The answer is doubtful.

Under the present import facilities at LPRC, the technical systems are designed to handle minimum quantity of petroleum derivatives of particular specifications.

Secondly, suppose three or more importers were to bring in products whose cargo ships were to arrive at about the same time, and there is a vessel safely berthed at the jetty discharging petroleum products on behalf of LPRC. Who would be responsible for the incremental costs, laytime, demurrage claims, insurance, product theft, etc. sustained by the other vessels owned by the importers? Should it be the responsibility of LPRC, the government of Liberia, or the importer?

Additionally, should an importer bring in a cargo of products whose projected costs at the pump would appear to be less than that of LPRC, would we expect LPRC to supply same at the lower costs, knowing same will under-cut LPRC profit margin?

Again, suppose a group of importers merged to bring in products of unspecified nature; however did so unintentionally, but with consequences leading to a subversion of the economy. Whose fault would this become? These and many other profound questions seem to surround the recent policy move.

Prospects

There are obvious benefits resulting from oil import de-monopolization, particularly so when same is combined with an appropriate agency, supported by foreign asset exchange. In the first place, free competition is healthy for a free enterprise economy.

It has the tendency of weeding out inefficient industry, providing quality goods, or services.

Secondly, oil de-monopolization should mean a considerable drop in the prices at the pump, and a contribution to expansion in oil distribution inland, thus facilitating increase in

agriculture output production, transportation, etc.

Again, the result of this scheme could witness an improvement in the development of oil storage facilities, service stations, and induce employment in oil distribution and supply businesses. Government could certainly generate additional revenue combined with a reduction in government outlay, with savings funnelled to other socio-economic projects.

Consequences

While attempting to present a balanced picture of the recent pronouncement, let us be reminded of the host of consequences requiring analysis, foresight, and consideration.

Oil import de-control will usher in an era of profiteering and gamesmanship; and if unchecked could seriously undermine the very interest of government. We could observe unscrupulous introduction of unspecified grades of petroleum products on the market which in our time have never been produced or defined by LPRC. The consequence of which could undermine commerce and industry.

Furthermore, as earlier stated, LPRC's present import facilities are designed to handle a minimum quantity of products of particular specification. The system can only provide storage for limited quantity of products without exposure to bottle-neck.

Under the proposed policy, increased import competition could over-expose the system to all kinds of technical problems, repairs, maintenance, breakdowns, etc., at costs economically high. There again, who shall be responsible for product theft, demurrage claims, insurance, damages, sustained by

importers while discharging products at LPRC import jetty? Should we expect LPRC to fulfill a commitment in the name of free competition, knowing this will retard the future growth and viability of LPRC? These are obvious consequences and difference underlying the policy; while it is expected for LPRC to serve as a clearing-house and at the same time serve to protect the interest of direct competitors. Sure, a highly irrational expectation!

The success of a policy depends upon its agency. From the analysis presented, one might surmise the policy has no agency, or put otherwise, the policy's agency is unsuitable to the task to be performed; consequently, the agency is expected to perform by committing self-inflicted wounds leading to suicide, an analogy filled with realism.

Notwithstanding, here are some recommendations which should be considered while we search for a coherent national energy policy consistent with the nation's free enterprise economy and Open Door Policy:

1. The government of Liberia should re-define its interest in the Liberia Petroleum Refining Company.

If LPRC is a productive enterprise, maximizing profit, operating at minimum costs, producing efficiently and thus allowing consumers lower prices of petroleum products, and compensating its shareholder (government) for the investment, then LPRC should retain the right as the sole importer of crude oil and petroleum products.

2. If LPRC is not performing

any or all of the above, then government should divert its share interest in LPRC and sell same to private shareholders.

3. If item number two is too difficult to accomplish or unacceptable to government, then government should consider selling the refinery to a direct foreign investor and encourage private participation. Under this scheme, the refinery should retain its right as sole importer of oil products.

4. Should items two and three prove unacceptable, then let the government allow LPRC to operate as an autonomous profit-making enterprise without control and interference; allowed to design production and marketing strategies, etc.

Under this scheme, LPRC should be encouraged to undertake oil processing agreements with producers of surplus crude oil; whereby some refined products will be made available for consumption in the Liberia market. This also requires the government to re-assess the recent policy pronouncement.

Let us remember some of the nation's fundamental economic problems include lagging productivity and deficit trade balances. The refinery was a productive enterprise having contributed to an improved trade balance. Let us encourage productivity without disrupting viable industries.

LIBERIA

BRIEFS

ENGINEERING CONSULTANCY LOAN AGREEMENT--A \$400,000 loan agreement for consulting engineering services for the commencement of the Fifth Highway Project was Wednesday signed at the Ministry of Finance in Monrovia. The loan is an addition to a \$20 million agreement reached between the International Development Association (IDA) and the Government of Liberia, following a study conducted by IDA in 1981 for the improvement of laterite roads in the country. The implementation of the consultancy agreement, expected to begin in November of this year, was signed by Finance Minister G. Alvin Jones and Public Works Minister James Burphy on behalf of the Liberian Government, while Mr. Giuseppe Manzoni, Branch Manager of Remardet Sauti-Ice Consultants, based in Geneva, Switzerland, signed for his company. [Excerpt] [Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 5 Sep 83 p 10]

ADB HIGHWAY RECONSTRUCTION LOAN--The African Development Bank (ADB) based in Abidjan, the Ivory Coast, has agreed to provide a loan of \$15 million to the Government of Liberia for the reconstruction of the Kakata-Totota highway now in a deplorable condition. This was disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Public Works, Mr. James Burphy, during a press conference at his Lynch Street office in Monrovia. Commenting on the national road network program, the Minister observed that his ministry was presently engaged in a rehabilitation exercise. But, he added, the "patching" of streets and roads were not enough to solve the problem of roads in the country. He let it be known that "no less than \$1,000 was required for normal grading of one mile road" and all that was needed at the moment was to ensure that all unpaved roads be regravelled which would cost \$10,000 per mile. The Public Works minister pointed out that since the PRC government came to power in 1980, no equipment has been bought by his Ministry. Consequently, he added, only equipment that were more than five years old are being used by the ministry which had created some inconveniences because of frequent breakdowns. [Excerpts] [Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 3 Sep 83 p 3]

CSO: 3400/45

MOZAMBIQUE

RESISTANCE RADIO SCORES MACHEL, MABOTE'S 'LIES'

MB091128 (Clandestine) Voice of Mozambique National Resistance in Portuguese
0400 GMT 8 Oct 83

[Station commentary: "Lies by Machel and Mabote"]

[Text] Samora Machel has marked one of his birthdays. Funny, has anybody ever heard of a government declaring national holiday merely because the country's president is marking a holiday? No. Only in Mozambique can such an event take place, with FRELIMO in power. As had been expected, taking advantage of the buffoonery marking the birthday of the bearded gorilla [magarila mandevu] Machel, the Maputo leaders stepped up their antics, which have, as things stand, already become dull by compelling the hungry and unfortunate people to watch them.

The date, apart from being a mere occasion for antics, was used by Machel regime disinformation services to claim victories supposedly won by its Moribund army. Sebastiao Mabote said that his forces had killed 300 armed bandits. Imagine. At the same time, the gorilla said that his forces had killed 500 armed bandits and that 800 had been taken prisoner. The chief of the general staff says one thing, and the supreme chieftain of these Maputo criminals says another.

Which of these two corrupt and criminal exploiters of the people speaks the truth? In fact, neither one nor the other has taken journalists to the sites of their alleged victories. Our people are the true eyewitnesses of what is happening in the country. They have for a long time now been fighting the criminals, the corrupt, and the exploiters who are still in power in Maputo. Let the two great liars come. Our people are also intensifying their fight against them. While the two men were twaddling in Maputo, the town of Beira was suffering from effects of our forces actions, the disruption of electric power.

The speeches and statements by Machel agents on the day marking the gorilla's birthday, besides containing lies, were once again a clear illustration of the division and discord between the two true bandits in Mozambique, the gorilla and his clique.

CSO: 3442/10

BRIEFS

GDR CAMP FOR CHILDREN--ADN News Agency reported that more than 200 Mozambican children will be spending their next vacation in a rest camp, near Frankenhäusen, in the mountains of Kyffhäuser, in the German Democratic Republic. The Mozambican children will join children from that socialist country in the Pioneer Festival, which is being held in the GDR, and has a broad program of festivities, including music and dancing. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 26 Aug 83 p 8] 12402

SOVIET RICE FOR DROUGHT VICTIMS--Yuri Flerov, commercial attache for the Soviet Union in Maputo, yesterday offered the Mozambican people 10,000 tons of rice. The offer was made at a press conference held for the 19th edition of FACIM. According to Flerov, the Soviet Union's contribution is to support the victims of the prolonged and serious drought that has hit the People's Republic of Mozambique. The contribution is a symbol of solidarity on the part of the Soviet Union, and it coincides with the international principles that govern its political orientation. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIA in Portuguese 26 Aug 83 p 3] 12402

STUDENTS RETURN FROM CUBA--A source in the Ministry of Education and Culture told our reporter that a group of students who have spent the last 3 years in Cuba finishing their high school studies will return to Maputo today. According to the same source, another group of Mozambican students is already en route to Cuba to do the same as the group that just returned. They come from various schools in our country. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 26 Aug 83 p 3] 12402

STUDENTS LEAVE FOR LIBYA--The day before yesterday, a group of Mozambican youths left for Libya, where they will represent our country in the Pan-African Youth Festival. The group went in a special airplane loaned by Libyan President Muammar Qadhafi. The group includes 93 youths including those who participated in the National Youth Festival held in our country to support the 4th Congress of the Frelimo party. Members of the cultural group "Amandla" of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, who have been in our country for several weeks at the invitation of AMASP, were on the same flight as the Mozambicans, and will also participate in the Pan-African Festival. Zacarias Kupela, member of the Central Committee of the Frelimo Party and Secretary-General of the Mozambique Youth Organization (OJM), was at Maputo Airport where he spoke to the Mozambican youths before their departure. Our representation in the Pan-African Festival includes musical groups and others. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 25 Aug 83 p 2] 12402

TRADE AGREEMENTS WITH LIBYA--The ratification of the General Friendship and Cooperation Agreement, the Trade Agreement and the agreement calling for the formation of a "holding" company between the Libyan Arab Republic and the People's Republic of Mozambique were signed at the Ministry of Foreign Trade in Maputo. The documents were signed by Valeriano Ferrao, Mozambican secretary of state for foreign trade, and Mohamed Ahmed Al Amary, secretary of the people's committee of the People's Bureau of Libya. The above-mentioned agreements were drafted in Tripoli on 4 August last year and ratified by the People's Congresses of Libya during their third ordinary session of the same year, and by the Mozambican Council of Ministers on the 25th of May of this year. The document was signed in duplicate, one duplicate being in Arabic and the other in Portuguese. [Text] [Noticias MAPUTO in Portuguese 29 Aug 83 p 10] 12402

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH BULGARIA--According to information released during the Fifth Session of the Joint Cooperation Commission being held in Sofia, Mozambique and Bulgaria have shown an increase in bilateral relations. According to the Bulgarian News Agency (BTA), the Mozambican delegation, headed by Marcelino dos Santos, secretary of economic policy for the Frelim Party, arrived in Varna yesterday. This session will examine the fulfillment of the long-term (to 1990) economic cooperation program between the two countries, and the planned coordination program for the period between 1981 and 1985. The session will also analyze the manner in which agreements signed by Presidents Samora Machel and Todor Jivkov will be put into operation. According to BTA, economic and technical-scientific cooperation between Mozambique and Bulgaria was discussed in depth during the plenary session held Tuesday. It was mentioned that in addition to the tasks being carried out, the economic development of our country and the creation of new businesses, the possibilities for exports from Mozambique are increasing. Our country mainly exports cotton, wood and other products to Bulgaria, while Mozambique receives tractors and other agricultural machinery, chemical products and consumer goods from Bulgaria. Other projects to be carried out with Bulgaria include projects involving the wood, marble and agriculture industries. According to the BTA, Bulgaria will help Mozambique set up several pottery and prospecting companies. Possibilities also exist for the creation of businesses dedicated to the manufacture of wooden furniture and tobacco production. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 25 Aug 83 p 1] 12402

TRADE RELATIONS WITH TANZANIA--Last July, when the 8th Session of the Joint Commission between Mozambique and Tanzania was being held in Maputo, readers of this newspaper learned that the two countries had decided to participate actively in free trade starting next year. Free trade between Mozambique and Tanzania represents the elimination of colonial barriers and the development of commercial trade. Goods that Mozambique does not have and Tanzania produces in excess, will no longer be imported from Europe, Asia, Latin America or North America... Conversely, what Mozambique has and Tanzania lacks will also enter the Tanzanian market free of all tariff and customs barriers, which were often created for other motives and for the protection of the ancient colonization powers. This is a continuation of the ongoing process of the development of trade agreements that is working and considered exemplary in spite of the difficulties derived from the lack of structure and mechanisms directed towards the development of these trade agreements. Our trade with Tanzania carries weight in the foreign trade of the People's Republic of Mozambique and in re-

lations with Tanzania; hence the importance of the free trade agreements between the two countries, which will begin in 1984. It does not occur much today, but in the past, a product coming from Portugal had an importation tariff much lower than that of a product coming from Tanzania. This was for the protection of Portugal's foreign trade. The change in laws does not mean we do not want to trade with Portugal.... The change is due to the logical conclusions of an independent country in Southern Africa. Even today we have some examples of that type of situation. Some products, from the socialist bloc, for example, have much higher importation tariffs than those on the same products coming from France or another country. This is not logical between two socialist countries, especially two countries like ourselves and Tanzania, who have similar histories and are in the same area in Africa. The development of relations with Tanzania is an example of what trade should be within this African zone and among members of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). This is still not happening with all the countries of the SADCC. [Excerpt] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 31 Aug 81 p 1] 12402

POET HONORED IN USSR--Mozambican poet Jose Craveirinha was awarded the International Literature (Lotus) Prize on Saturday. The prize was awarded during the seventh conference of the Afro-Asian writers, which was held in the Soviet Union. [Summary] [MB071326 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 6 Sep 83 MB]

CSO: 3442/10

SOMALIA

DFSS ACCUSES BARRE REGIME OF POISONING WELLS

EA120305 (Clandestine) Radio Halgan in Somali to Somalia 1800 GMT 10 Oct 83

[Text] The Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia, DFSS, vehemently condemns the reprehensible act of poisoning wells in central Somalia by Barre regime loyalist troops, which has caused the deaths of 10 civilians, brought hundreds to the brink of death, and killed thousands upon thousands of livestock, thus rendering many Somali families totally destitute.

The Barre dictatorial regime's loyalist forces poisoned the well of (Bahar) between 18 and 20 km southeast of (Zadado) town in Ghel Gudut region, central Somalia.

This inhuman act by which the barbarous regime aims at exterminating the civilian population is nothing new in our country. The barbarous regime wants to intimidate the general public against supporting the patriotic armed struggle which is gaining ground throughout Somalia, particularly in central Somalia.

It was in 1980 that dictator Siad Barre's forces wreaked savage and wanton destruction upon the people and their property in several regions of Somalia. In that year the Barre loyalist forces demolished water storage tanks, burned down houses, raped women, and killed many innocent people in the Mudugh and Nogal regions. The action was designed to stop the civilian population from rebelling against and confronting the feckless Barre regime.

During the past few months, similar inhuman acts have been committed by dictator Barre's regime in the northwestern Togdher and Senag regions of our country, with mercenary forces of the so-called national army barbarously destroying the people and their property.

Now it is the turn of the central regions of Somalia, where destruction and extermination have begun, because the general public there has reacted against the dictatorial regime and begun joining the patriotic armed struggle against the Barre regime.

The DFSS calls upon those Somali soldiers still loyal to the dictator to do their patriotic duty of turning their guns on the terror gangs who are

spilling the blood of the innocent Somali opposition and totally innocent general public of Somalia. The Somali soldier must act now to rescue the Somali nation from the hands of the dictatorial regime and the darkness into which it is being led by the Barre regime.

In its capacity of spokesman of the Somali opposition forces and the organization which spearheaded the struggle of the Somali opposition forces, the DFSS wing of the Somali opposition forces cannot stand idly by and watch the destruction of the Somali communities. We know that the Somali people will win against all odds, particularly against the inhuman acts perpetrated on defenseless people.

We accordingly appeal to the peace-loving peoples of the world and to those who care about human suffering strongly to condemn the Mogadishu regime and to isolate it totally.

We know that the world's general public cares about all human suffering in the world, particularly the acts of poisoning wells in drier regions of Somalia, where water and life are synonymous.

We would also like to remind the governments which aid Siad Barre militarily, economically, and politically that they are creating permanent hostility towards their countries and peoples on the part of the Somali community. This is because of their continued support for the Moribund regime.

Finally, we direct a question to the Somali people, on whose behalf we are vigilant day and night: Beloved people of our nation, how long will you continue to tolerate the dictatorial rule of Siad and his henchmen? We should have toppled the dying regime long ago, but now we are sure that it will not be long before the regime becomes a thing of the past.

The Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia, DFSS

CSO: 3403/3

SOUTH AFRICA

ZULU CHIEF BUTHELEZI INTERVIEWED

Bonn AFRIKA-POST in German Sep 83 p 15

[Interview with Gatsha Buthelezi by a reporter of the paper: "Buthelei Pleads for Solidarity"]

[Text] In South Africa, a new organization is going to fight for the rights of blacks. Is the New Democratic Front competing with Kwa-Zulu Ministerpresident Gatsha Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement?

AFRIKA-POST: Chief Buthelezi, for years, you have been fighting with your Inkatha movement for peaceful change in the Republic of South Africa. But simultaneously, the African National Congress (ANC) conducts its guerilla war against the government in Pretoria. But, in contrast to your movement, the ANC enjoys worldwide publicity and is looked upon as the future government of South Africa. Do you still believe, under these circumstances, that you have achieved something with your Inkatha movement?

BUTHELEZI: Well, who has achieved anything at all? The ANC has been fighting since 1912 for the liberation of the blacks in South Africa. No one can say that it has not achieved anything, but the fact is that our people are still waiting for their freedom.

Around 1960, the "External Mission" of the ANC decided to wage an armed fight but even this could not make the government collapse. During that time, the ANC succeeded to gain diplomatic recognition on the international stage but, at the same time, we in the Inkatha movement have further expanded our base in South Africa. Today Inkatha is the largest mass movement in the Republic of South Africa although I still don't believe that we have mobilized a sufficient number of people for our goal. Nevertheless, we have had a few successes which also induced the government in Pretoria to listen attentively. Let us take, for instance, the mass strike in 1973 in Natal. There was no blood spilled but the strike was so effective that the then Premier Vorster said that he learned his lesson. One of the results of our activities at the time was the new labor legislation which, in my opinion, still does not go far enough, but it is a first step.

AFRIKA-POST: If we understand you correctly, you want to put the main stress, also of your future activities, on a form of civil disobedience, and more than before on the trade union movement. Do you believe that this will enable you to effectively combat apartheid?

BUTHELEZI: In my view, we have not yet exhausted all of the possibilities of civil disobedience and I know that a mobilization of the working classes leads to certain success. Not only Mr. Vorster but we also have learned from the experiences of the 1973 strike.

AFRIKA-POST: Because of your activities--to put it mildly--you are not exactly loved by the South African government. There are reports according to which the government is attempting to outmaneuver you through a greater engagement of the Zulu king.

BUTHELEZI: There always are such rumors and, in the past, the government did attempt to play the king against me. During the last months, there were reports, especially in the Afrikaans-speaking media, that the king is more popular among our people than I am, that the people listened to him whenever he raised his hand, and that this is proof that I have lost control over Inkatha. Of course, all these reports are untrue and the king himself is extremely annoyed at the attempt by the government to use him as a means to divide our population. I am convinced that the government will attempt this over and over but, as in the past, it will also find out in the future that we do not let ourselves be split up.

AFRIKA-POST: For a fairly long time, there has existed a new black movement in South Africa which is apparently also supported by the trade unions: the New Democratic Front. What role will this organization play in the future?

BUTHELEZI: You must know history in order to understand this role of the New Democratic Front. A while ago, I received a note from Chief Matansima. He told me that he must speak with me soon and urgently. This surprised me because, in the past, we had relatively little to do with each other. At our meeting, he told me that the blacks must now stand together because the government has completely passed us over in its constitutional proposals, and a new alliance should also be formed with the people in the so-called homelands. Other participants of this meeting thought that we should first of all clear our own mutual differences of opinion and clarify our different positions before we unite in a common front. As you know, there are differences of opinion about many problems such as, for instance, about the homeland policy. Some politicians have accepted the independence, we will never accept it.

The New Democratic Front was established in spite of it, but today I cannot yet judge its chances of success or failure. As I said, it exists but it has not yet accomplished anything so far.

It will have to be seen what role the New Democratic Front can play in the future. But in general, I believe that the bringing together of my fellow black countrymen, even if they have opinions different from mine, is good and that all steps must be welcomed which lead to joint actions.

2473

CSO: 3420/35

SOUTH AFRICA

JOHANNESBURG RADIO COMMENTARY ON 'GROUP SELF-DETERMINATION'

MB101301 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 10 Oct 83

[Station commentary: "Separate Developments: The South African Answer"]

[Text] An issue that has cropped up in the referendum debate concerns the present position and future of blacks in South Africa's constitutional arrangements. It touches on one of the fundamental questions in South African politics. How is democracy to be advanced in this region of widely diverse national communities?

Participation in political decisionmaking is the universally declared goal for all, but within that consensus there is also a general recognition of the right of communities to freedom from domination by others. Group self-determination in a democratic dispensation is nonnegotiable, therefore any constitutional variety of black majority rule is out. It is simply not on the agenda in that part of the debate that concerns itself with practical politics, which is the only part of the debate that will influence the country's future course.

The response to the challenge must necessarily be as complex and multifaceted as is the population mix with which it has to deal. Part of it lies in recognizing the existence of a diversity of black nations--nations which have a primary allegiance to their own people, language, culture, and political aspirations. That part of the response has been unfolding over more than a quarter of a century as states have been created and economically developed under representative political authorities for the nations that claim the ultimate loyalty of the black peoples. Those nation-states, of which four are by now completely independent, are as insistent on their fight to be free of outside domination, whether by white or blacks, as any others anywhere else. It has also been recognized that South Africa's nations have not only nonnegotiable, separate, but also vital common interests and some form of confederal arrangement is taking shape to accommodate those. Continuous negotiation over that goal has already brought about the creation of numerous multilateral development and cooperative bodies, and a regional economic development program that transcends state boundaries.

With regard to the black people outside of the independent and national states, fully fledged local government has been introduced with elections

in November, and there is provision for their participation in general elections in their national states. Details remain to be settled, especially with regard to their political accommodation at a confederal level, and that is the task of a cabinet committee formed earlier this year, but the overall program is clear and far advanced. The dispensation for the white, colored, and Asian communities is altogether another aspect of the response to the whole complex situation. No one aspect invalidates any other. Certainly the much greater strides that have been made towards black political self-determination through national independence in a cooperative association of states in no way affects or is in no way affected by that issue.

CSO: 3400/67

PRIME MINISTER BOTHA'S TERM IN OFFICE EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Sep 83 p 14

[Article by Brian Pottinger: "5 Years of PW--The Shadow and the Substance"]

[Text]

THIS Wednesday exactly five years ago Pieter Willem Botha defeated two of his Cabinet colleagues to secure the top post in the National Party and the Prime Ministership of the country.

As he stood on the Senate steps that chilly Cape day waiting for the "We-want-Pik" chants of a section of the crowd to die, the new Prime Minister was under no illusions as to the problems he faced.

The Info scandal and the crisis of white morale were upon him.

Within his own caucus rightwingers were terming away, their hostility not lessened by the latent provincialism of the party which made a Cape Prime Minister suspect to a section of the Transvaal corps.

Internationally, South Africa's relations were cool to frigid, domestically civil tensions were again on the rise after the cataclysmic unrest of 1976 and 1977.

He had reached the pinnacle through 30 years' parliamentary service, unstinting party commitment, organisational excellence and a political street savvy.

The cosy symbiosis whereby P W Botha had made the military and his beloved military had made him, had also helped.

But as he stood on the Senate steps that day he was not truly seen as a man of the people: enjoying neither the public adulation for the pristine intellectualism of a Verwoerd, nor the wry solidness of a Vorster.

It is perhaps a measure of his tactical skills that he survived those early years.

But it is also a reflection of his strategic sense that five years later the country is more deeply divided than before: true national reconciliation is as problematic as ever.

A five-year perspective of the P W Botha administration reveals this rough chronology: the promise, foundation work, a pause, the denouement and, finally, an uncertain present and an unspecified future.

The promise came early in the new administration's life. It was a pledge not of words but of gesture that reflected a profound change in the style if not the content of National Party politicking.

Renewal, reform, reconciliation became the new three Rs, the touchstones of virtually every P W Botha speech.

He broke precedent to go on a tour of the homelands and Soweto, queried the Immorality Act, declared the 1936 Land Act was not a "holy cow", hinted that the Government's 1977 proposals were dead-letters and made encouraging noises to business.

It was high-risk promise politics and the early days took their toll.

The new Prime Minister's single-mindedness and abrasive style drove old party stalwarts into sullen retirement — including former State President B J Vorster.

These men formed a shadowy opposition to P W Botha — the man and his policies. In the Byzantine art of underground NP politicking they were the night-time outriders of discord.

September 1979 and Mr Botha faced down rebel elements in his fractious Transvaal congress. It was a Pyrrhic victory.

The rebels lived for another day and the knives were truly out. Caucus leaks became endemic. Nobody, least of all P W Botha, was under any illusion where it was heading.

Within the first year the Prime Minister had won the image of the reformer without having provided a scrap of substance.

He had masterfully created the promise without a single concrete pledge. In the rush of goodwill that followed few stopped to consider whether P W Botha's reform was reform at all.

He misled nobody, made no promises he had no intention of fulfilling.

If some optimists read into his statements things he had not intended, that was their problem.

P W Botha was in the "reform" business but it would be reform NP style and that meant within the immutable parameters of NP philosophy: white survival and curtailed civil liberties, if necessary.

While the promise was flowering in the atmospherics of "reform", P W Botha was quietly laying the foundations to his new South African order based on a harnessing of all the country's resources for "survival" and informed by the Prime Minister's deep conviction that South Africa faced a total onslaught from Soviet imperialism, its surrogates and its "useful idiots".

This politico-military-economic counter-thrust was to be buzzworded "total strategy".

The civil service was rationalised, essential planning functions drawn to the Prime Minister's office, a national security management system established, security forces beefed up, the military-industrial nexus expanded and strategic industries advanced.

Slowly the strategy evolved based on three main legs: a constitutional dispensation involving whites, coloureds and Indians to bring the two minority groups onside with whites, a confederation with the black national states and, finally, a massive industrial decentralisation scheme to give economic flesh to the homeland bones.

The first objective was secured by the creation of the President's Council which would give legitimacy to the political direction the Government wished to take.

The second required the creation of an "insider" urban black class: enter Wiehahn and Riekert, permanent urban status for blacks, home-ownership and Louis Rive's peripatetic development missions.

The third objective involved a quid pro quo between Government and business.

The National Party itself did not escape the new order. The congresses were told

they could direct only principles and not policy — that rested with the leadership.

The division was imperfectly understood by the rank-and-file and bitterly rejected by some. The knives were being honed.

Underpinning the whole total strategy lay an iron grip on security and dissidence.

The Press endured menacing moments under the new Prime Ministership and detentions kept an unsettlingly high profile.

In foreign policy the new Prime Minister showed a qualitative shift from reactive to "pro-active" policies.

The SWA-Namibian issue became increasingly not a matter of chancellory diplomacy but command post tactics.

Robert Mugabe's victory, increasingly pessimistic intelligence assessments of Swapo's electoral support and the injection of Soviet surrogates into the region put settlement on "hold" with all its attendant costs in life and resource.

The administration passed into its third year and a freeze.

In 1981 P W Botha took the white electorate to the polls to win more time for his "reform" process.

Strategically necessary, it was tactically dangerous. The NP lost to the right and the left.

P W Botha returned with a mandate for a vaguely defined 12-point plan that meant so little, or so much, that a year later the party could split over its meaning.

It was into hiatus politics. While the President's Council went through the form of constitution-making, P W Botha had to keep his powder dry.

The 200 000 far-right votes in the general election were intrusive.

The year before Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the powerful Transvaal caucus and now a Cabinet Minister, had walked away unscathed after a row with the Prime Minister over coloured participation in Craven Week rugby matches.

At the 1981 Transvaal Congress the apostle of pure apartheid was rampant, the Prime Minister strangely mute.

The early era of euphoria fled. The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill showed to what lengths the P W Botha administration would go to secure their black urban "insiders".

The Seychelles incident raised concern about the military's role in foreign policy formulations, inflation continued to take its dreary toll on popular confidence.

Everywhere the practicalities of NP

policy seemed to be desperately trying to catch up with the promise of the earlier years or — more ominously — to avoid it.

Private enterprise for blacks was the buzzword, but two years after Riekert there were still no black traders in the CBDs, trade union rights were fiercely espoused but scores of unionists languished uncharged in detention, a "new deal" for urban blacks was punted but pass raids soared, the political regeneration of coloureds was a priority but District Six remained white, educational reform was essential but De Lange collected dust.

It was a low point for the administration.

Denouement came in early 1982 with the Government's plans for limited power-sharing with coloureds and Indians. It was cathartic.

The right-wing of the NP saw it as betrayal of white sovereignty, emerged from the trenches and with tactical precision were mowed down by P W Botha's reconnaissance commandoes who, one suspects, had long been hiding in the undergrowth for precisely this moment.

The man who a few months before had said he would never split the NP had, in an act of no small political courage, done precisely that.

And so in the fifth year of his Prime Ministership, in his 35th year in Parliament, a Prime Minister presides as perhaps no other Prime Minister before him over the destiny of the nation.

Those years have wreaked their own subtle influence on the man himself. The notoriously short fuse that spluttered frequently in earlier days is now slightly dampened.

He has settled more firmly into power, become slightly more mellow: authority outwardly rests more easily if no less implacably.

If he has been the catalyst for a process of constitutional renewal, as he claims, it has been achieved at great personal and national cost.

For P W Botha the price has been the splitting of a party he has served for the better part of his life, for the country it has meant unprecedented upheavals: a division of whites, creation of new and legion black opposition and dissension within the coloured and Indian community.

From the morass of conflict P W Botha believes he can snatch national reconciliation. Time only will tell whether the situation he has created will be therapeutic or terminal.

Five years after that cold Cape day the most that can be said is that P W Botha has not taken the country over the brink into civil conflict.

The least is that he has not taken it any further towards genuine reconciliation and the most neutral that he has again created the promise of those early years with the substance yet to come.

TOP-LEVEL POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING SYSTEM PROBED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Sep 83 p 38

[Article by Deon Geldenhuys, associate professor of political science at Rand Afrikaans University: "Who Wears the Pants in PW's Kitchen Cabinet?"]

[Text]

A QUESTION that has intrigued local and foreign observers of the South African political scene ever since Mr PW Botha came to power is — who makes top-level political decisions?

Prime Minister Botha's management style appeared so different from that of his predecessors that people understandably began to wonder what the changes meant for government decision-making.

Mr Botha established a plethora of committees, staffed by bureaucrats and politicians, drawn together in what is called a national security management system.

Designations with such a military ring, together with Mr Botha's previous position as Minister of Defence and the higher public profile of the military leadership, have prompted suggestions that the Defence Force had effectively taken control of policy formulation.

The State Security Council (SSC), the highest body in the national security management system, is alleged to be the

principal forum for the military to impose its political will.

These rumours have only been fuelled by the Government's reticence to expound publicly WHO makes decisions, WHERE are they made, and HOW.

But then, in the last fortnight, the Government seems to have become uncharacteristically forthcoming: the Prime Minister first referred to aspects of political decision-making at his Pretoria news conference, and a few days ago an unprecedented Press conference was held specifically to explain government decision-making.

Nagging

All the nagging questions seem to have been conclusively answered. Or have they?

The Prime Minister dismissed as a "fairy tale" the suggestion that the Cabinet merely endorsed the decision of the SSC.

Mr Barend du Plessis, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, pointed out that it would be against the law if the SSC took decisions.

The secretary of the SSC, Lieutenant-General

A J van Deventer, insisted that the council "possesses no decision-making powers", but is merely an advisory body to the Cabinet.

"It has always been the duty of the chairman (of the SSC: the Prime Minister) to submit all recommendations and advice of the council to the Cabinet for further action."

It is true that in terms of the Security Intelligence and State Security Council Act, 1972 — under which the SSC was established — the council enjoys only advisory powers.

It is to advise the Government on the formulation of national policy and strategy with regard to the security of the Republic.

The question is whether the de jure position corresponds with the de facto situation.

In a public lecture at the University of Port Elizabeth in May 1980, Dr J E du Plessis, the Director-General of the Office of the Prime Minister (and presently head of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning) revealed that Cabinet committees (of which the SSC was one) were in 1979 given "decision-making power".

From Dr du Plessis's address it was obvious that the SSC stood apart from and above the other Cabinet committees.

The decisions of all Cabinet committees, except the SSC, as a rule had to be circulated as appendices to Cabinet minutes and had to be ratified at the next Cabinet meeting, he explained.

What of course also distinguishes the SSC from the other Cabinet committees, is that it is the only one chaired by the Prime Minister.

Another feature of the SSC is that it has a secretariat of about 45 people, which is probably considerably larger than those of the three other committees.

And then the SSC's brief is also much wider than the other Cabinet committees' areas of jurisdiction, so to speak.

Contradictory

National security, as Gen van Deventer in fact conceded, is a very broad concept. It embraces anything from concern with terrorism to "cultural action".

The SSC is therefore well placed to act as the principal Cabinet committee.

How can one explain the evidently contradictory official statements on the role of the SSC?

First, the 1979 decision to which Dr du Plessis referred, could have been rescinded, and all Cabinet committees could since have been limited to only advisory functions to the full Cabinet.

There is, however, little evidence that the Government has gone back on the decision of 1979.

If anything, the SSC has as a decision-making

body apparently been going from strength to strength.

Being a relatively small, streamlined body concerning itself with matters of high salience, the SSC has established a reputation in official circles as an effective forum for quick decisions.

Such is the record of the SSC that Ministers and departmental heads are said to attach a "security" label to matters not strictly related to security in an effort to get a speedy top-level decision.

The SSC is then used as a short cut, as opposed to the often cumbersome procedures involved in getting a matter on the Cabinet agenda.

Second, it might be that words have different meanings for different people.

Thus some might reserve the term "decision" for something bearing the Cabinet's final seal of approval.

However, Mr Du Plessis has implied that decisions of the SSC need not be submitted to the Cabinet.

But even if we assume that the Prime Minister does as a rule refer SSC decisions to the Cabinet, the significance may be more symbolic than substantive.

It seems highly unlikely that a resolution — or recommendation or piece of advice — of the SSC which bears the Prime Minister's stamp of authority, will be questioned or turned down by the Cabinet.

If this is true, it raises profound questions about the full Cabinet's role in decision-making. (Might such questions be one of the reasons why the Government is now so keen to play down the SSC's role?)

Assuming again that the SSC merely advises and recommends, one cannot ignore the implications of overlapping membership between the advisory body and the decision-making body.

Monday's advisers become Tuesday's decision-makers. (The SSC meets fortnightly on Mondays and the Cabinet weekly on Tuesdays.)

This feature, too, is bound to constrain the Cabinet in considering the SSC's submissions.

Gen van Deventer cited the example of the last SSC meeting, at which no fewer than 10 Ministers were present — half the Cabinet. And did they then "advise" the other half?

Unanswered

So, despite the past fortnight's official briefings, many questions remain unanswered.

Precious little has been said to convince one that the SSC is merely an expert advisory body.

It was after all Gen van Deventer who, in the very last paragraph of his written submission to the past week's Press conference, said the following: "Decisions (my emphasis) taken by the SSC are subject to final approval by the Cabinet."

Why, then, one may well ask, all the trouble to try to tell us that decision-making is not decision-making?

□ *The role of the SSC in decision-making is considered at some length in the author's forthcoming book on the making of South African foreign policy, due to be published by Macmillan in March 1984.*

TOP ANC EXILES TURN OUT FOR DADOO FUNERAL

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 25 Sep 83 p 25

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICAN exiles — among them Mr Joe Slovo — made a rare public appearance in London yesterday for the funeral of Dr Yusuf Dadoo, chairman of the South African Communist Party and senior member of the ANC's revolutionary committee.

Mr Slovo, named by South African security spokesmen as the mastermind behind many sabotage incidents, has not been seen publicly in London for several years.

A former Johannesburg lawyer who is now a senior figure in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, he is normally based in Maputo and is much-sought by South African security forces.

Mr Slovo was one of two senior officials at the funeral representing the Communist Party. The other was Mr Moses Mabhida, secretary-general.

The ANC was represented by Mr Oliver Tambo, the president, Mr Alfred Nzo, secretary-general, and Mrs Florence Maposo, head of the women's section. Mr Stephen Dlamini, secretary-general

of the outlawed South African Congress of Trade Unions was also present.

ANC flag

Dr Dadoo, who died in London earlier this week at the age of 74, was buried in North London's Highgate Cemetery, where Karl Marx is also buried.

In deference to his family and Muslims in South Africa, he was buried in a Muslim ceremony.

Dr Dadoo's importance in the exile community was demonstrated by the level of representation at the funeral.

The Communist Party and ANC delegations carried the coffin, together with Dr Dadoo's two brothers, Ahmed and Abou. The coffin was draped with the ANC flag.

Two South African Indian leaders also came to London for the funeral. They are Mr Essop Jassat, president of the recently revived Transvaal Indian Congress, and Mr Zack Yacoob, executive member of the Natal Indian Congress and member of the Release Nelson Mandela Committee.

CSO: 3400/65

SA 'EMBELLISHMENT' OF ORWELLIAN NIGHTMARE ALLEGED

Port Elizabeth WEEKEND POST in English 24 Sep 83 p 19

[Article by Garth King: "Orwell's 1984 Is Looming"]

[Text]

IN 1948, George Orwell wrote the classic masterpiece, 1984.

The novel's language — phrases like "Big Brother is watching you" — have passed into the English language as a symbol of the horrors of totalitarianism.

In his futuristic work, Orwell amplifies the worst aspects of the police state.

The citizens of "Oceania" are subject to the most total, all-embracing control.

Technology is only used and refined by Big Brother, via his "Ministry of Love", for surveying, brainwashing and torturing citizens.

"Thoughts and actions which when detected mean certain death are not formally forbidden and the endless purges, arrests, tortures, imprisonments and vaporisations are not inflicted as punishment for crimes which have actually been committed, but are merely the wiping out of persons who might perhaps commit a crime at some time in the future," Orwell wrote.

People are kept in a permanent state of subjection and poverty — and are constantly brainwashed to believe (they are not allowed to turn off their omnipresent two-way "telescreens") that they have enough to

eat and that life with Big Brother is good.

Human emotions are strictly channelled into love for Big Brother and sadistic hatred of the enemy.

The world economy is based on a perpetual war between three super-powers.

Productivity and labour is ultimately geared to the perpetual manufacture and destruction of arms.

Big Brother's motto is: "War is Peace", "Freedom is Slavery", "Ignorance is Strength" — involving a mental process called "doublethink".

News and history are constantly falsified by the "Ministry of Truth" to perpetually convince people that Big Brother's state is infallible and omnipotent.

Orwell wrote: "The heresy of heresies was common sense. The Party told you to reject the evidence of your eyes and ears. It was their final, most essential command."

It is now 1983 and the year 1984 is nearly upon us. Has Orwell's imagination materialised in any way?

Chairman of the Cape Eastern Region of the Black Sash, Mrs Bobby Melunsky, for example, be-

lieves that "South Africa has added its own unique embellishment to the Orwellian nightmare.

"Here we have people controlled by a computerised central reference bureau, systematically finger-printed, severely limited in employment opportunities and drastically circumscribed in freedom of movement.

"Should the new constitution be approved, 1984 will see South Africa take a further step into the realms of unreality, extending to coloureds and Indians the illusion — but not the substance — of citizenship.

"This will go hand in hand with Big Brother's belief that 70% of the population does not need to be addressed constitutionally since all the people constituting this 70% are now 'foreigners'."

The head of the University of Port Elizabeth's Department of Economics, Prof J H Smith, said Orwells' prophecies of world-wide subjection and poverty had materialised — "especially in Third World countries".

"In Mozambique, for example, people there are led to believe — in a 'double-

-think' process — that queuing for bread is a sign of 'freedom'."

He also said the manufacture and destruction of arms takes up a large part of mankind's effort — and will continue to do so.

The Bishop of Port Elizabeth, Bishop Bruce Evans, said: "The concept of being watched is part of life in this country.

"It's also frightening to think that satellites, for example, can focus in on the number plates of cars."

He agreed that the world economy seemed to revolve

around the arms race — especially when one noted that governments spent an estimated \$600 000 million (R666 000 million) annually on military activity while 60 million die of malnutrition every year.

The head of Rhodes University's Journalism Department, Prof Gavin Stewart, said the "kind of surveillance Orwell was thinking of is not far away".

"The 'telescreen' is technically possible and telephone tapping and listening devices are part of our lives," Prof Stewart said.

He said the falsification,

distortion and omission of information by governments was evident.

"The control of information by governments throughout the world, is absolute," he said.

Prof Stewart believed that information restriction had increased in America under Ronald Reagan.

"In South Africa, almost everything about Government activities is secret."

A lecturer in the Department of Linguistics at Rhodes University, Mrs Mary Louise Peires, said Orwell's prediction that English words would be

"stripped of their secondary meanings to facilitate unambiguous propaganda" was being fulfilled.

"Today, words like 'worker' and 'redundant' have only one meaning," she said.

Another prediction that Orwell made, via his creation, "newspeak", was "the interchangeability of parts--like adding 'wise'. Thus we have words like 'sexwise' and 'lifewise'."

"There is a definite move towards syntactic regularity--many old distinctions are lost in modern English--like the differences between 'who' and 'whom' and 'shall' and 'will'."

Orwell also foresaw that a new vocabulary would arise comprised of scientific and technical terms--like the modern words sitcom, computicket, medicare and polytechnic.

Orwell's vision that words would be stripped of their meanings was fulfilled in this choice example--taken from a public notice in London--"No parcels will be accepted during the present exploding device situation," Mrs Peires said.

Here, she said, "situation" has lost its meaning.

"In Orwell's nightmarish linguistic creation, words are only allowed to have one meaning. This is a definite trend in the English language today," she said.

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SHORTAGE OF MIDDLE-MANAGEMENT 'THREATENS CAPITALISM' IN S. AFRICA

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Sep 83 p 20M

[Article by Malcolm Fothergill]

[Text]

South Africa is in the grip of a management crisis which threatens to destroy the country's capitalist system, says Professor G S Andrews, Dean of the Wits Business School.

Unless more middle-managers was trained quickly the country's productivity would sag, he said in an interview.

Low productivity would keep inflation high, decreasing South Africa's ability to compete on world markets and reducing the number of jobs being created.

"That's a sure recipe for the end of the so-called capitalist system in South Africa."

Professor Andrews said South African businesses were well managed at the top.

The crisis was in middle-management.

"The Government has gone in the right direction in providing incentives for training workers. But it should also be giving incentives for management education.

"The recent reduction in the petrol price was a tragedy. If that money had been put into education, specifically black education or management training, it would have been well spent instead of being a politi-

cal gimmick.

"If you want to stop inflation you stop money getting into the consumer's hands. You don't give him a gift which he doesn't really need."

Professor Andrews said one of the greatest factors in the rate of inflation was the level of productivity, which was largely determined by management.

MARKET SHARE

Figures showed that 65 to 70 percent of the performance of a business was related to strategic factors, such as which markets the business was in, its market share and product quality.

About 15 percent was related to operational factors such as the efficient use of equipment and the number of man-hours worked.

In other words, management had much more to do with a company's level of productivity than workers did.

South Africa's problem was that there were too few middle-managers and that the middle-managers it had did not have the time to increase their skills.

"We're running courses on Saturdays and Sundays because guys can't get away. That's heart-attack country."

He said the shortage of mid-

dle-managers was compounded by the fact that blacks had been trained in negligible numbers and that many white-middle managers were not suited or trained for their jobs.

His impression from talking to business leaders was that standards of management had dropped considerably in the past few years. This could be improved, "but we've got to do something about it fast.

"The year 2000 is only 17 years away, when the population of the country will be double what it is now. We can't afford to fiddle around."

The excuse was sometimes made that South African productivity could not be as high as Japanese productivity because the labour forces were different.

SAME LEVELS

But Japanese managers were getting the same levels of productivity from English labour in England as they were in Japan.

"In South Africa middle-managers have no time to think. And they need to be given the tools to think with.

"You often hear of the Japanese taking a long time to make decisions. Our guys on the other hand are shooting from the hip — it's management by crisis here."

CISKEI PLANS YOUTH SERVICE TO BEAT DROPOUT PROBLEM

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Sep 83 p 3

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei has plans for a "national" youth organisation along the lines of the quasi-military youth movements in countries like Swaziland and Malawi, according to a report released by his office.

The scheme was recommended by an ad hoc committee under the co-ordination of Professor J A Lamprecht, principal of the University of Fort Hare.

It would cost more than R28 million in its first four years of operation.

The report — drawn up by the committee in only two weeks — says the South African Government is to be asked to help finance the plan, which is aimed at relieving problems caused by Ciskei's enormous number of school drop-outs.

Nearly six percent of children at Ciskeian schools drop out every year, many of them in Grade 1 and Grade 2.

"These pupils, as they mature, plus others who, although leav-

ing school later have not achieved high academic levels, form a body of unemployed and sometimes unemployable youth," the report says.

"They do not qualify for tertiary education and their inability to find employment generates frustration and boredom, with delinquency the final and inevitable result."

Part of the solution, the committee proposes, is the creation of a national youth organisation in Ciskei.

"Essentially, this is seen as a modified form of national service, with the objective not of national defence in the military sense but of improving national and community welfare."

The plan calls for young people — primarily those between the ages of 16 and 20 — to be voluntarily recruited into groups of the same sex, which would be housed in youth centres for up to two years.

There would be a three-month "basic training" course, followed by work on service projects and land reclamation.

Recruits would be paid a nominal daily wage — R1 per person a day has been suggested — and the report adds: "A high level of discipline will be a strong feature of the training provided. The local tribal structure would play a role in this."

There would be specialised training in more than 20 basic subjects, from bricklaying, carpentry and road construction to sheep shearing, cottage industries and home economics.

The reports recommends that the youth movement be controlled by a council, on the university model, which would be directly answerable to President Sebe's office.

It adds that children under the age of 16 now make up more than half of Ciskei's population and that the problems of unemployed and delinquent youth "could soon present a threat to the social fabric of Ciskei".

CSO: 3400/65

ANALYSIS OF CENSORSHIP TRENDS SHOWS MORE MODERATION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Sep 83 p 7

[Article by Sheryl Raine]

[Text]

In compiling a detailed analysis of censorship trends, Ms Louise Silver of the University of the Witwatersrand notes that between 1976 and 1983, censorship has shown a distinct move from conservatism to moderation — and the public generally appears to have welcomed the change.

Many people have extolled the period since mid-1980 as a time of enlightened censorship.

Others have decried it as a time of disintegrating standards — moral, political and religious.

In a detailed analysis of censorship trends, published recently in the South African Law Journal, Ms Louise Silver of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand concludes that the liberalisation process has not been revolutionary or markedly libertarian.

Between 1976 and 1983 censorship has moved from conservatism to moderation, she says, and the public generally appears to have welcomed the change.

Proof of this is the fact that the public has not stormed the Directorate of Publications protesting against obscene or otherwise undesirable material.

Several changes have occurred in the field of censorship from the days when Dr Connie Mulder was Minister of Internal Affairs and Mr H J Snyman was chairman of the Publications Appeal Board (PAB) to the present era of Mr F W de Klerk as Minister and Professor J C van Rooyen as chairman.

The effects of self-censorship, an unfortunate by-product of the official variety of censure, are still apparent, however.

The healthier signs in these times of more moderate censors include:

- The number of publications submitted to the censors has dropped significantly since 1980.

In 1980, 2 174 publications were submitted for scrutiny by publications committees and 1 333 were found undesirable. During 1981/82, 1 792 were submitted and 949 found undesirable.

This is partly due to a subtle agreement of quasi-self-censorship between various Government departments and the organised book trade.

The trade agreed in 1980 to examine its imports and make sure for themselves that they did not import undesirable material.

- The proportion of films passed unconditionally by publications committees has increased and South Africans are more likely to view uncut movies today than in 1975.

A combination of cuts and age restrictions is preferred by the censors these days rather than the outright rejection of a film.

- An increase in the number of films being submitted to publications committees for the first time indicates greater faith in the censors and optimism.

In 1976, 701 full-length films were submitted. At the peak of the conservative Mulder-Snyman era in 1978, the number had dropped to 507.

During 1981/82 the number of films submitted rose to 817, including video movies.

"During the Mulder era, film-makers and distributors decided that the climate was hostile to the approval of films that were possibly in the prohibited zone," said Ms Silver.

Consequently they made no attempt to submit these films for approval.

- A balance in the number of obscene publications banned versus political publications found undesirable has been established.

In 1975, the censors banned mostly material deemed obscene and a threat to public morals.

This trend had changed by 1980 when far more political publications regarded as prejudicial to the safety of the State were being banned.

In 1981 balance was restored when 385 obscene works were banned, compared with 379 politically undesirable publications.

● The Publications Appeal Board has formulated very clear standards to be applied by itself and the publications committees. The board consistently applies these standards.

● More films and publications are being taken on appeal to the Appeal Board than before.

In 1976, the board heard 71 appeals. In 1981/82, 174 cases were taken on appeal.

During the period 1975 to 1979, the annual percentage of works taken on appeal remained constant at between two and three percent of the total number of works examined by publications committees.

In 1981/82 the figure rose to six percent.

Ms Silver attributes the increase to growing confidence in the PAB. In 1976 the board confirmed 63 percent of the bannings it reviewed and in 1980 this figure had dropped to 49 percent.

There has also been an increased number of appeals lodged by the Directorate of Publications against decisions of publications committees.

Material referred directly by the Minister of Internal Affairs to the PAB tends to be conditionally approved with cuts or age restrictions whereas during the Mulder era such material was usually rejected.

Certain trends have remained largely unchanged.

The number of publications banned because they were offensive to religious groups has remained fairly static, with 15 banned in 1976 and 16 in 1980. In 1981, however, the number dropped to six.

The one black spot in current censorship trends is the many books and other publications being banned for possession. The number is steadily increasing and virtually all prohibitions on possessions are being confirmed by the Appeal Board.

CSO: 3400/65

MINISTER OSCAR DHLOMO ADVOCATES 'NO' VOTE

Durban POST NATAL in English 21-24 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text] THE Indian community now has strong reason to reject the new constitution proposals because pre-conditions set by them have not been accepted by the Government.

This view was expressed by KwaZulu's Minister of Education, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, when members of the Indian Council met Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and several KwaZulu Cabinet Ministers at Ulundi on Friday.

Dr Dhlomo said Indians should stop "dilly dallying" on an important issue like the constitutional proposals.

"You asked the Government, Minister of Constitutional Affairs and the Parliamentary Select Committee to effect certain changes such as the removal of all discriminatory laws, the inclusion of blacks into the process of change and many others.

"The Government was told that these were pre-conditions and the Indian Council would not accept the new constitutional proposals until such time your demands are met. Now the Government has come back to you saying the pre-conditions cannot be met. Therefore I see no reason why you should not reject out of hand the new dispensation," Dr Dhlomo said.

He said blacks would feel betrayed if Indians went ahead and agreed to participate in the "new deal".

Dr Dhlomo appealed to the SAIC representatives to make up their minds about the new constitution.

"Everybody has taken a stand on the issue. The views of the Labour Party, the Black Alliance, Inkatha and other political organisations are well known.

"When taking the decision you must consider the long term," he said.

Earlier, Mr Jordan Ngubane, KwaZulu's Director of Information, told the meeting that only a national convention, involving all races, could solve the political problems in South Africa.

Referring to the political crisis facing South Africa, Mr Ngubane said Africans did not want to be in collision with Indians and coloureds but preferred to be seen as "part of the family".

"Where is the unity that prevailed in the 1950s? From recent developments, I gauge a great division between us. Is there any obstacle which will prevent the holding of a convention?" he asked.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, SAIC executive chairman, said the getting together of leaders was a good thing.

He said the Black Alliance was formed with the specific intention of devising a common strategy involving all race groups.

It was, however, important for each group to have the full support of its constituents and to galvanise people into political action.

CSO: 3400/65

INDIAN BOYCOTT OF REFERENDUM CONSIDERED UNWISE

Durban POST NATAL in English 21-24 Sep 83 p 12

[Article by Pat Poovalingam, Durban attorney and former member of the President's Council: "Yes or No: The Lesson of History for the Left and Right-- Grab Every Opportunity!"]

[Text]

WHATEVER the future might hold, it is the whites who for the past three decades have had, and still wield, sole political control over South Africa.

Exceptions are of course the four independent national states of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Boputhatswana. And also to a lesser degree the "homelands" of KwaZulu, Gazankulu, Lebowa and so on. Each of these homelands is semi-autonomous. Each has all the paraphernalia of state except for defence and foreign relations. Each has a government controlled by the ruling party (in some cases the *only* party) which party then benefits from all the perks and the patronage that that government has at its disposal.

No such privileges are enjoyed by the coloured and the Indian groups.

Until 1913, the franchise rights of the black, Indian and coloured peoples varied between the four prov-

inces. In Natal, the Indians had the parliamentary franchise until, in 1896 the English Colonial legislature, by chicanery, eliminated this. In Natal also, the Indians had the municipal franchise until it was, once again by devious and deceitful stratagem, taken away from them in 1924, once again by Natal's English.

In Natal, the OFS and the Transvaal, black people had no franchise at all, but they did have this right in the Cape Province until, in 1913, by the combined efforts of both British and Boer, this right was taken away.

The coloured people exercised the parliamentary, provincial as well as the municipal franchise, until, when the Nationalists attained power, in 1948, one of the first things they did was set about stealing this. The theft was perfected four years later.

Why the indecent haste? It is facile to lay

this also at the door of ideology gone mad. But of course the Nationalists had a practical political reason for this. They knew the coloured vote would in the next elections go to the Opposition. For they knew that, but for the boycott by the Cape Western Coloured people of the 1948 elections in opposition to the Coloured Affairs Department created by Smuts, three key seats which they won from the United Party would have gone to Smuts. And if that had happened Dr D F Malan would not have become Prime Minister.

Boycott by the coloured people played no small part in letting the Nationalists take control of South African politics.

In 1944, in terms of the Pretoria Agreement made by A I Kajee and P R Pather with Smuts, the Indian community was to have been given three representatives in Parliament. This was opposed by both the right-wing whites and

left-wing Indians and DE Mitchell, using Indian opposition, sabotaged this. Indians have had no offers until now.

On March 11, 1942, Mr Winston Churchill, announced in the House of Commons that the British Government was sending Sir Stafford Cripps to India to negotiate for India's independence.

Sir Stafford took this offer, which was for Dominion Status, and would have put India on par with Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, to the leaders of the Indian independence movement. The provincial legislatures in India would elect a constituent assembly which would devise a Constitution to be effective immediately after the war.

"It is thought", says Percival Spear, the Cambridge historian, in his book *A History of India* "that a majority of Congress leaders favoured a deal." But this was torpedoed by Mahatma Gandhi who rather picturesquely, if somewhat grandiloquently, dismissed the offer by Cripps as a 'post-dated cheque drawn on a failing bank.' Britain was of course then in dire straits facing Hitler's Germany almost single-handed.

This was a monumental error. Says Percival Spear: "By rejecting the Cripps offer (Congress) had both lost the opportunity of entrenching

themselves in the seats of power and also the chance of smothering the Muslim League before it was too late. The price of these errors was Partition."

History seldom repeats itself precisely. But there are lessons to be drawn from history which often shed some light upon present paths available.

Some leaders in the Indian community are given to grandiloquence. And they tend sometimes to get so carried away by their own clichés and catch-phrases that they fail to recognise reality.

The Progressive Federal Party strongly urges a "no" vote on November 2. The PFP has rejected the Constitution Bill. But if the vote is a "yes" and if the tricameral parliament follows, most, if not all the present PFP MPs, will take their seats in the all-white chamber. They will not, with one or two possible exceptions, Helen Suzman among them, resign their seats.

If on November 2 the white electorate (and it is noteworthy that the PFP does not reject the referendum on the count that it is confined to whites only and therefore it is an apartheid one) votes "no", it will mean that Indian and coloured opinion is purely academic. But if, as appears probable at current showing, the answer is "yes", these two groups which will be offered some political rights whereas they at present have none, and will have to decide

whether to boycott or not.

Of course if the Nationalists were to do the sensible thing and to agree to full democracy in South Africa there would be no problem. But not even the vast majority of PFP supporters are ready for that yet. If the vote goes "yes", South Africa would seem to be set fair on a course in which a series of compromises take place on a step by step basis.

If, after November 2, whites are prepared to take those first few faltering steps that might lead towards reconciliation (and meanwhile isolate in some measure those bent on violent revolution) and provided the highpowered Cabinet Committee by then comes up with a promising plan for black participation at the central level, can South African Indians sensibly boycott?

Surely at that stage, it will behove them to make use of such opportunities as are made available while seeking the main goal — the eventual emergence of a non-racial society. This is what the "homeland" leaders, those who are using the system, are doing. In some cases quite effectively.

South African Indians cannot "approve" a Constitution that is patently deficient. They cannot vote "yes". Nor should they play into the hands of the present-day likes of DE Mitchell by saying "no". Rather let us use every opportunity created to further the ideal.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI CALLS FOR REJECTION OF CONSTITUTION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Sep 83 p 10

[Letter to THE STAR by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi: "Reject Constitution"]

[Text]

I sincerely believe that South Africa is truly and deeply dependent upon black goodwill. As a South African who loves his country, I have done everything I can do to preserve black goodwill.

Over the 30 years of my public life as a politician I have never wavered from my responsibility to preserve the medium and longterm interests of South Africa which so many black politicians have so glibly sacrificed to make immediate or short-term gains.

When duty has demanded it, I have risked my political career to do what is right. I have faced barrage after barrage of destructive criticism because I remain adamant that in everything I do South Africa must come first.

I have followed the politics of reason. I have advocated democratic and peaceful means of bringing about change. I have argued for compromise solutions.

I have prepared my people to accept that we get nothing for nothing and that our demand should be only for equality of opportunity, so that we can prove our human worth.

I am not an alien and vagrant force in the South African political situation and in my many missions abroad I have sought to espouse only those forces which are generally acceptable to the whole of South Africa.

I have not only done these things but in the process of doing them I have built up the largest black constituency that this country has

known in its history. Inkatha has now a paid-up membership rising steadily above 750 000.

South Africa is torn by inter-racial strife. While many of our issues are hot racial issues *per se*, the dividing line between for and against on most of them is in fact a line which divides blacks from whites.

The African National Congress's mission in exile has declared an armed struggle. Urban sabotage does take place. The Government does find it necessary to mobilise public opinion at the level of what the Prime Minister calls a total onslaught against the country.

We must break away from the kind of situation in which all this is true and in which there is worse to come.

Africans reject the new constitution in part and in whole. We are entitled to reject it because its effect will be as binding on us as it will be on whites, Indians and coloureds. We are citizens in South Africa under the existing constitution and we have democratic rights which are dearer than life itself to us.

The new constitution is a massive erosion of the rights we have. In the past we have been entitled to campaign democratically and through non-violent means for political recognition. In the past we have seen our exclusion from the parliamentary process as being a party political thing which could be combatted by democratic opposition.

It is simply not true that the adoption of the new constitution is a whites-only affair or an affair between whites, coloureds and Indians. South Africa will not survive continued onslaughts on black rights which the new constitution represents.

The new constitution has no medium and long-term future and the objectives which lie behind it will never be secured. South Africa stands in the real danger of paying the terrible price that the National Party's political failure will extol from it.

If white South Africa votes "yes" in the coming referendum, Africans will experience a deep sense of shock as they perceive themselves to be rejected not by a political party they disagree with, but by their fellow South Africans.

A "yes" vote will make deep inroads into African political goodwill and the continued pursuit of what has to be done in order to make the new constitution work, will finally destroy African goodwill.

All this is so totally unnecessary. White South Africa can simply say "no" to Mr Botha. All they will be doing is telling him to go back to his constitutional drawing board and to make another attempt at reform in which there will not be the tragic under-achievement for himself and for the whole country which his present political commitments represent.

If a "yes" vote is cast, Africans will reconsider their options. They will question African politics for the last 20 years and demand a firmer stand and more forthright political action.

I am in touch with black thinking and I can clearly see that I will have to reconsider my own options as the options of the people change. I and all responsible African leaders in South Africa, will be forced into a reconsideration of what our strategy should be and who our allies should be.

We will have to reconsider our views on such questions as sanctions against South Africa and we will have to carefully review the politics which goes for campaigning for economic and diplomatic isolation of

this country.

Preconceptions based on National Party propaganda that ethnic ties override a deep desire to form one united South Africa are dangerous. White South Africa just does not know its own history and politics if they think that grand apartheid will ever work. The only way to get to know Black South Africa politically is to negotiate with us and to step into the future with us.

To facilitate the process of change, political responsibility has thus far demanded that we seek compromise solutions.

We recognise that the fear factor in white South Africa is high and have for the sake of posterity been prepared to seek a negotiated future along federal lines in which there is room for compromise on all sides. The confederal concept we reject on the basis that there will be no real power-sharing in it as exclusive white social, economic and political power over 87 percent of the country and all its riches will be retained by whites.

White South Africa must accept that a "yes" vote in the referendum will be a rejection by whites of compromise politics and amount to no less than the throwing down of a political gauntlet in the black political arena. A "yes" vote will lead to uncompromising demands and as a black leader I must take cognisance of this.

In the new political dispensation, I will be answerable almost exclusively to my black constituency in which there will be hardening attitudes and an ever increasing demand for the kind of politics in which I have not yet been involved.

In saying these things I am extending the hand of friendship to white South Africa; I am appealing to whites to keep the negotiating door open. There will unfortunately be whites who will regard this present message of mine as threatening and hostile. This is just not true.

The appeal I am making for a moratorium on constitutional developments until such time as we have evolved a mutually acceptable negotiating formula is a reasonable appeal and it is made in the interests of the whole of South Africa.

IMPACT OF 'NO' VOTE IN REFERENDUM CONSIDERED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Sep 83 p 39

[Article by Tertius Myburgh: "PW Botha Won't Shuffle and Deal Again"]

[Text]

WHAT happens if the majority votes No in the referendum?

This has become the single biggest conundrum of the campaign.

Quite properly much of the debate at the centre-left ("It takes guts to vote No." Why?) is beginning to focus on it.

But before entering the dicey terrain of political prophecy, let us quickly discard two categories of No-voters.

They are the rightwing allsorts in the CP-HNP-AWB coalition, and the don't-give-a-damn school of leftwing opposition, mercifully a minority, who would vote against anything the Nats have touched even if it carried an endorsement by the Archangel Gabriel.

Such people, who say a pox on all three of PW's houses and to hell with the consequences, are beyond sensible debate.

Consider, instead, the case of the unextreme, well-intentioned folk who are toying with the idea of a No vote because they earnestly desire evolutionary progress towards constitutional justice, yet genuinely believe that the Constitution Bill of 1983 is irremediably defective.

Once these nice people have recited the now well-known litany of the new constitution's flaws, they are serenely confident about their forecasts of the consequences of rejection.

Such are the imperatives of reform, they say, that a No majority will oblige NP leaders — sometime, somehow, for they care or know little of Afrikanerdom's political chemistry — to think again and come up with something better.

They hold this touching belief that there will miraculously emerge from the NP caucus a new plan fashioned according to a Proggish model.

The theory is entirely honourable in its purpose — but it is utterly fanciful for not taking any account of the dynamics of Afrikaner politics.

True, the new constitution is a poor thing. But it's all we've got — and in reality it's all we're going to get in the foreseeable future.

There is an extraordinary naiveté about the belief that Messrs Botha and Heunis, who have shattered Afrikaner unity and invested every cent of their party political capital (indeed, they may be overdrawn) in this ven-

ture, will meekly return to an as-you-were mode when their plan is rejected at the polls.

In the real, unforgiving world of Afrikaner politics they will not be permitted to return to the status quo ante as though nothing had happened.

For example, much is being made of Mr Botha's declaration that, in the event of defeat, he will not call a general election.



More likely, he will not be in a position to call any shots at all, having taken up residence at his retirement home at the Wilderness while his confrere Mr Heunis resumes his law practice in neighbouring George.

They will be replaced at the NP helm by new, less divisive leaders whose first act will be to remove constitutional reform from the agenda altogether while they concentrate on restoring Afrikaner unity.

And, having seen how Mr Botha burnt his fingers by mistakenly trying to strike an alliance with traditionally non-Nat, English-speaking South Africa, his successor will be understandably unwilling to take another

chance.

Nationalists will be led back into their defensive shell, sullen and angry over what they will then regard as the folly of trying to enlist the support of the perfidious English against the menacing ranks of Dr Treurnicht.

The drive-them-back-to-the-drawing board school of opposition reminds one of nothing so much as a story they tell of the Duke of Wellington, when his mistress, Mrs Arbuthnot, died.

The Iron Duke went tearfully to her funeral and was primarily consoled by the whispered condolences of Mr Arbuthnot, who put his arm around the duke and said: "Do not grieve, Your Grace, I shall marry again."

It is difficult to see Mr F W de Klerk cast in an Arbuthnot role.

No, what the privileged voting classes have to face up to on November 2 is that we will, all of us, be taking a gamble. We will be making our judgments on a balance of probabilities about what will happen after the poll.

Which is more likely — that rejection this time will spur our rulers on to greater reformist endeavours?

Or that support for a little bit of educative

power-sharing will start an irresistible process that must, ultimately, arrive at a just constitutional accommodation of all South Africa's people?

The fond belief that after five years of hard constitutional bargaining in NP congresses and committees which eventually resulted in a traumatic party split, Mr Botha can do better and still retain at least part of his power base, is wishful thinking.

In politics, as in poker, you're obliged to play with the cards you've been dealt.

You can't keep throwing in your hand until someone — The Great Constitution-maker in the Sky? — deals you four aces.

Which is why, if it takes guts to vote no, it takes an equal measure of courage to vote yes.

And let us never forget the searingly cynical remark of coloured Dr Richard van der Ross, who, although principal of the University of the Western Cape, is today utterly disenfranchised and therefore favours the half-loaf of the new deal.

If he were white, he said recently, he would vote No because that would enable him to keep both his moral superiority and his privilege.

DU TOIT SEES AFRIKANERDOM SPLIT ON REFERENDUM

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 30 Sep 83 p 11

[Article from the "Opinion" Column by Professor Andre Du Toit, Department of Philosophy, Stellenbosch University: "A 'Yes' Vote Is a Move to the Right"]

[Text]

IT IS early days yet, but already it is clear that the pattern of referendum politics differs significantly from the all too familiar norms of our electoral history.

Left and right, deep ethnic loyalties and traditional party affiliations are apparently being disregarded.

About half of the PFP's constituency is not (yet?) following their party leadership's determined stand against the new Constitution.

Outside the Cape, Afrikanerdom is split down the middle, and the big unknown factor is just how many erstwhile staunch NP members will prove amenable to the determined Rightwing bid for a "No" vote.

The result is a highly unusual situation in our political history, one where political arguments may actually be considered on merit and where strategically placed minority groups may well exercise an influential electoral voice.

Of course, as we know, political choices are rarely decided purely on rational grounds.

In the new political context, where old ethnic loyalties count far less, the party which appeals most successfully to whites' hopes and anxieties is going to call the shots.

One of the key questions in this referendum is whether the NP will manage to do just that with "English" voters in

general and the business community in particular, or whether this traditionally reformist opposition constituency — who find themselves in the rather unaccustomed position that their support may well prove to be decisive — will be able to drive a harder bargain and on their own terms.

On the face of it the reform-minded Opposition voter would seem to be in a doubly favourable position.

He has the opportunity to make an informed and rational choice on the actual merits of the new Constitution. The question posed for the referendum is, in fact, quite straightforward: approval or rejection of the "1983 Constitution" already passed by Parliament.

It is this specific Constitution, and not some vague and ambiguous vision of "consociational democracy" or "consensus politics", that he must endorse or reject.

And should he consider it to be inadequate or defective, then he is in the strategic position to withhold his much needed support and perhaps even to gain some influence on the thrust of constitutional change itself.

Curiously, this is not at all what seems to be happening in many reform-minded Opposition circles. To judge by the arguments advanced by those editors, academics and business leaders who have already committed themselves to a "yes" vote, they have

been persuaded by all sorts of other considerations — but not by the merits of the proposed new Constitution as such.

Nor do they show much confidence in the potential of the reformist constituency to impose its own terms on the constitutional debate at all.

They are bending to larger forces, swayed by arguments not of their own making.

In effect, what has been happening over the last six months is that the NP has had considerable success in couching their constitutional proposals in rhetoric and metaphors which spoke to the hopes and fears of many reform-minded Opposition voters.

It would not go too far to say that many have been prepared to suspend rational judgment on this issue. First they were persuaded to go along with the metaphor that the Constitution should be supported, not so much for its own sake but as "a step in the right direction".

When the dangers and defects of the actual Constitution Bill became too obvious, this metaphor was given a new and apparently even more persuasive twist: we should vote "yes" because a majority "no" vote would mean a disastrous "step in the wrong direction".

Granted the defects and dangers of the new Constitution, we are told that a majority "no" vote would lead to

the fall of the present verligte NP leadership (i.e., P W Botha and Heunis) and bring about a resurgence of the Rightwing, setting back the prospects for any kind of constitutional reform for many years, even for good.

For such reasons, reformists who abhor this constitution should be prepared to vote "yes".

It would be a grave mistake to take this at face value as a rational argument and not just a persuasive set of metaphors.

Its plausibility does not derive from any certainty of a Rightwing takeover consequent to a majority "no" vote in the referendum. An equally plausible case might be made that this would simply leave us where we are.

Mr Botha himself has rightly stressed that the present NP Government would continue in power following a possible "no" vote.

Of course, in that case Mr Botha's own leadership would be at serious risk, but it would be Mr De Klerk or Dr Viljoen, not Dr Treurnicht, who would replace him.

Nor would that constitute a drastic rightward turn of the NP leadership. Rather it would merely confirm the rightward turn which has already taken place in the NP leadership since the general election of 1981 and the defection of the Treurnicht group last year.

The present leadership's record over the last two years speaks for itself: the lack of response to the De Lange Commission, the Rabie Commission and the ensuing security legislation, the "Koornhof Bills," the Steyn Commission and the continuing threats to Press freedom, the rejection of the Buthelezi Commission's proposals, the

South West African negotiations, the destabilisation of neighbouring states... this is the record, let there be no mistake, of an NP Government where Rightwing views are clearly in the ascendant.

As for Mr De Klerk, his record on the vital issue of black affairs is not any more verkramp than that of Mr Botha, and his responses to the underlying pressures for reform to sustain economic growth, given the enduring constraints on manpower, is as likely to be basically technocratic in nature.

In short, the supposed certainty of a rightward turn following a "no" vote is a myth.

Why, then, do so many people find it so persuasive? Its plausibility derives from the way in which it is calculated to appeal to some of the deepest hopes and fears of many reform-minded whites.

Conditioned by a long history of political impotence in opposition, many reformists have come to accept that with the NP in power the Rightwing will always hold the political trump cards.

Moreover, while reformist proposals used to be the prerogative of the Opposition, the verligte Nationalists have shown that they, too, can play this game, thus gaining a double psychological advantage.

On the one hand the reformist rhetoric of the Botha Government spoke to the urgent hopes of many well-intentioned whites: reform, after all, might yet be a realistic option.

On the other hand, this also neatly turned the tables on the liberal Opposition: from having been the party of reform the PFP could now be represented as negative "boycotters," unaccountably not willing to participate in the responsible task of constitutional change.

The NP leadership thus proved adept in what the

American political scientist Schattschneider in "The Semi-sovereign People" called "the supreme instrument of power: the definition of alternatives".

And so the verligte promise of Mr Botha's leadership has become the repository of both the reformist fears of the Rightwing and of their desperate hopes for realistic reform.

In the face of the most evident defects of the Constitution Bill they still want to be persuaded that there must be grounds for supporting the Government's constitutional plan.

The art of the political persuasion in democracies everywhere, like that of the confidence trickster, is most effective when it can rely on the subject to do most of the work himself.

Even the much vaunted power of propaganda and manipulation of the media is limited when it goes directly against the grain of people's own interests and sincere beliefs.

But if you work with their underlying wishes and fears it is amazing what otherwise quite rational people will bring themselves to believe in spite of the most obvious evidence to the contrary.

The trick is to avoid that direct scrutiny of the actual proposal itself which would at once expose its inherent flaws and defects.

Rather, it should be presented in such a way that it allows full scope for the projection of one's own hopes and fears (which are, after all, irrefutable by rational evidence).

The current constitutional debate has indeed proved to be a sort of political Rorschach test. When confronted with what the Constitution Bill actually says, the response is simply to insist that it will somehow be the pre-

lude to the realisation of one's own reformist hopes.

And instead of utilising the bargaining strength which withholding support of inadequate reform might give, reformists are prepared to support a new Constitution they know to be defective and dangerous for fear of some mythical Afrikaner Rightwing takeover.

The supreme irony, of course, is that the new Constitution which reformists so much want to support is itself a definite move to the Right.

The Constitution Bill itself is the clearest demonstration of the extent to which the NP Rightwing has succeeded in putting its own stamp on the proposed constitutional reform.

As late as the end of 1981 there was still serious discussion within verligte NP circles of giving coloureds representation along with whites within a single house.

The 1983 Constitution, as we have it now, is not only firmly structured on separate chambers and the ideological distinction of "own affairs" and "common affairs," but it entrenches such fundamental apartheid structures as the Group Areas Act and the Race Classification Act in the Constitution itself, even apart from definitely excluding blacks.

It would be the final legitimisation of this Rightwing takeover of the constitutional plan if Opposition voters would persuade themselves to approve this as "reform" — for fear of a possible Rightwing backlash should they vote "no".

The rightward turn that reformists should fear is not some vague future bogeyman; it has already happened. Only a determined and reformist "no" may still do something to counter it.

REFORMIST WHITE VOTERS IN DILEMMA ON WELFARE OF COLOURED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 1 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by Dr Hermann Giliomee]

[Text]

TO REFORMIST whites making up their minds about the constitution one issue is of crucial importance to do the right thing by the coloured people.

Does it enjoy a fair measure of support from the coloured community as a whole? And, more generally: will coloured participation in the constitution be effective politically — enough to ensure that the system works properly and, over time, will gain in legitimacy?

A straight answer to these questions would have made the vote on November 2 a fairly simple exercise.

In the absence of any fresh polls reformist whites desperately want to know how the coloureds (and to a lesser extent the Indians) view the constitution in its final form.

If there is a hard core of support, and if coloured participation in the new system has a chance of delivering the goods, a "yes" vote on November 2 could well in retrospect be interpreted as a step in the right direction.

Conversely, if the coloureds and, in particular, the most advanced sections of the coloureds, reject it at this stage and continue to do so in future, reformist whites will have great difficulty in justifying their "yes" vote.

At the very least, this will mean that the white-coloured curtain-raiser (to use the unfelicitious phrase of some commentators) is set to continue as an unseemly brawl, leaving little time or inclination for the Government to proceed to the main match of the white-black power relationship.

In this context, it is a great pity that a referendum (or a poll or an election) to test the coloured response will only be held after the white referendum.

Thus whites will go into the referendum bereft of a crucial item of information.

They know that the Labour Party has opted for participation, but recently a whole range of institutions enjoying strong coloured support has expressed itself against the new dispensation.

Hence the question arises: how representative is the Labour Party?

During the 1970s the Labour Party was basically the party of coloured blue-collar workers, but it also had the potential of speaking for the emerging coloured middle-class in the cities.

It attracted teachers, especially those outside the Cape Peninsula, by virtue of its strong stand for compulsory education and equal salaries.

It appealed to budding young businessmen by pushing for the improved functioning of the CDC and the protection of coloured businesses.

In a way it spoke for the whole coloured community when it urged the Government to tackle the critical housing shortage, on the economic as well as sub-economic level.

And it took a strong, principled stand against apartheid.

As late as June 1981 the Labour Party national executive still urged the US and Britain to apply sanctions against SA, berated Sacos for not protesting against the scheduled Irish rugby tour, and stated as a pre-requisite for negotiations with the Government the repeal of the Group Areas, Mixed Marriages, population classification and pass law Acts.

The Labour Party's changed stand on the Government's constitutional plan should not be read as a major swing in coloured opinion.

As a political party the Labour Party has had increasing difficulties in holding its constituency together.

During the last election of the Coloured Persons Representative Council only 25% of the coloureds entitled to vote bothered to do so. The closing of the CPRC removed the party's only real public forum.

In the course of 1982, the Labour Party increasingly feared that it would fall apart if it could not regain a public forum by participating in the new dispensation.

To a large extent this explains its rush of blood at its Eshowe conference early this year when it decided to go in without waiting to see the Constitution Bill in its final form.

Significantly, metropolitan Cape Town was poorly represented at this conference, which was dominated by delegates from the rural towns and PE region.

This pattern was reaffirmed by the polls in the recent elections for management committees for coloured townships, which are controlled by the Labour Party.

In the Cape Peninsula, where more than a third of the coloured population and politically and economically the most advanced section lives, very low polls were registered, ranging from Athlone (2%) to Kensington (12%).

In the Boland towns polls varied from roughly 25 to 50%, while the PE wards averaged a poll of 30%.

Where does this leave us with respect to a new political dispensation?

Over the last 10 years the main (but unstated) goal of Government policies has been to stabilise the "non-white" middle class.

Its strategy has been to stimulate the economic advance of a coloured, Indians and African middle class, properly housed and enjoying some political representation.

Even from the Government's perspective, a new constitution would turn out to be a hollow shell if it did not secure some measure of identification and participation by the rising middle class it was designed to attract.

The Seventies in fact saw the emergence of a significant coloured middle class.

Professor Jill Natrass of Natal University has calculated that at the time of the 1970 census about 12% of the coloureds could be considered middle class (being in the professional, managerial and other related job categories).

By the time of the 1980 census this proportion had nearly doubled! (Those in production, i.e. blue-collar workers, stayed at roughly 45%).

However, the Labour Party no longer has this new middle class as part of its constituency; in fact this class has turned out to be the most emphatic non-participants.

In canvassing coloured voters this year, Mr David Curry has come to the following conclusion: "The middle class has arrived, but it has become apathetic or opposed to what the Labour Party is trying to do."

"Being much better off economically, it is even more insulted by the apartheid system and tends to be attracted to the UDF."

Current Labour Party support tends to come from the blue-collar workers. As a Labour Party leader graphically puts it: "The rich has moved out and poor has moved in."

This impression is confirmed by opinion pollsters who consistently found that the higher the income and the better the education, the more coloureds are against the new dispensation.

The Labour Party has justified its decision to participate on the grounds that it wishes to fight against apartheid from within and to negotiate a better socio-economic deal — thus, of course, also building its own constituency.

However, the chances that the new dispensation will bring advances for the Labour Party and/or increased coloured support do not look good at the moment.

The constitution is of course based upon apartheid which make the Labour Party claim to be opposing it problematic.

Secondly, the new system comes about 10 years too late: most of the social and economic

advances on which the Labour Party could capitalise had already occurred.

Thirdly, the Government's new-found commitment to free enterprise is running counter to its plan to co-opt the coloureds into a new dispensation on the basis of apartheid and to a strategy of (coloured) affirmative action which the Labour Party would want to pursue in order to build support.

Let us elaborate briefly in order to put the negative reaction of the coloured middle class and the dilemma of the Labour Party in proper perspective. With regard to coloured business, the party will have little or no patronage to dispense.

The CDC has been taken over by the Small Business Development Corporation which allocate funds purely on merit and regardless of colour.

There is a strong feeling among coloured entrepreneurs that they have been losing out against whites recently.

To coloureds in the civil service, and particularly the teaching profession, the Labour Party will have little to offer, since salary parity with whites in the important top and middle categories had already been achieved in the late Seventies.

Housing is another area where the Labour Party could have built up support by pushing for and acquiring control over large-scale sub-economic housing schemes.

However, it is thwarted by the Government's new emphasis on the provision of more expensive economic housing and on home-ownership.

The proposed sale of the State's housing stock to what will be largely the coloured middle class will occur in a neutral, technocratic fashion which does not offer any meaningful role to the Labour Party.

Lastly, the Labour Party will have great difficulties in building support through improving the quality of life in the townships.

Although the Government has not yet spelled out the fiscal arrangements in the new dispensation, it looks as if it is moving in the direction of user levies, which means people who want to have improved facilities and services will have to pay higher rates.

In none of these fields is the Labour Party in a strategic position to offer anything meaningful to the coloured middle class.

Short of full participation in a common House of Assembly polarisation in the coloured community will proceed apace and the UDF is bound to have a greater appeal to the middle class.

What then do the coloureds think of the proposed dispensation? Any answer must be tentative and speculative.

It looks as if the Labour Party's strategy enjoys some support in the rural areas and among blue-collar workers in the cities.

However, there should be little doubt of the opposition of the coloured middle class, particularly that in Cape Town, which is above all demanding the abolition of the apartheid structures.

For a dispensation which is supposed to stabilise the middle class this is hardly a happy portent.

Those voters who on November 2 want to do the right thing by the coloureds should first of all ask a simple question: which coloureds?

CHANGES IN RACE RELATIONS NOTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Sep 83 p 39

[Article by Fleur de Villiers: "On the Rocky Road to Change It's Silly Not To See Just How Far You Have Travelled"]

[Text]

"NOTHING", said the woman vehemently, "has changed. The same dreadful laws are still on the Statute Book. So why should I vote for the new constitution?"

Let us ignore for the moment the glaring non sequitur — the assumption that a lack of change in South African society is a compelling reason not to vote for something which, for good or ill, represents major, inescapable change.

For her slip reveals little except that even the most politically sensitive South Africans hate to be confused with facts. And in a country in which civil liberties are as much under threat as they ever were, while apartheid is unravelling rapidly, facts tend to be dismally confusing.

Instead, let us examine the contention too frequent that South Africa is still set in oppressive concrete, unchanged and unchanging, with only a few cosmetic touches here and there to pretty up the apartheid face for gullible visitors.

Errol Tobias scoring a try for the Boks, black fighters punching the bejasus out of white boxers, mixed soccer teams, black and white athletes straining for the same tape — these perhaps can be regarded as cosmetic.

Perceptible change

For sport, once seen as an essential pillar of the apart-

heid society, is now regarded by many as a world apart with its own rules — Dr Danie Craven's own special and highly polished South African showcase which does not reflect the daily lives of the men and women of this country.

But can one say the same of the black tellers in your friendly neighbourhood bank, of black shop assistants, clerks, artisans, managers, executives?

Can one dismiss as cosmetic those same shop assistants, tellers and clerks taking their ease with their white peers in a downtown cafe or lunch counter? Taking a greatly increased pay packet back home — or into the downtown supermarkets, outfitters and department stores?

This is not the artificial world of organised sport, but the real and rough contact sport of daily life — a contact that could have led, at best, to an ugly incident in Birmingham, Alabama 1963.

The fact that it doesn't in South Africa 1983 shows that something is stirring in the

apartheid society: a real and perceptible change in white attitudes.

A few short years ago — about the time when South Africa was still debating whether black actors could play to white audiences without endangering the security of the state, when Sybrand van Niekerk's verkrampste wit ran in Transvaal and Pact was the outward, visible and expensive expression of an all-white culture — Elsa Joubert wrote a book chronicling the all too common misery of the black woman in search of her pass.

Last week Poppie Nongena came back to town, staged, on this occasion, not by liberal non-conformist whites or militant blacks, but by Pact.

The actors — bar a couple of walk-on parts reserved for thoroughly unpleasant white officials — were black.

Searing condemnation

The director was white, the theme was a searing condemnation of all that is awful in South African society.

The language was Afrikaans — and so were the audiences, ordinary middle

class Afrikaners who packed the theatre and stood to applaud.

Nor was this a once-off show of indulgent establishment tokenism. A few weeks earlier a similar audience was treated to a Pact production of Maxim Gorky's *The Lower Depths*.

Once again the language was Afrikaans. This time the actors were coloured and the deliberately evocative title was *Kruispaaie*.

Let it be said immediately that all this is no cause for whites to relax in a warm bath of sudsy self-congratulation.

Economic necessity

The old colonial cliché, as tired as last Sunday's roast, about how much more wealth and acceptability is being "given" blacks today compared with five or 10 years ago, is as insulting as it is inaccurate.

South African society is experiencing a fundamental sea change, not because it has suddenly seen the light of racial harmony, but because it is gradually realising that its people can live and work apart and in poverty, or together and in some kind of comfort.

In the US it took legislative action and judicial decree to change, not merely the glaring inequities of the Deep South, but the attitudes of its divided people.

In South Africa — because the Government believes it has to pay lip service, at least, to its constituency — legislative change has not set the pace. Economic necessity has — the slow-dawning realisation that white South Africa could not continue to grow, prosper, and avoid bloody revolution born of want, without black skills.

And when skin colour ceases to be important in the job market, it is no longer important in the market place.

But as everyone — even Dr Treurnicht — knows, change cannot be confined to the work place or the café.

Blacks who earn as much as their white colleagues cannot for long be restricted to living in Soweto. Neither can they be left without a real say in how they are governed.

If politics is about who gets what, when, where and how, then there is no more self-deluding myth than the idea that middle class black South Africans will be content to be both wealthy and voteless.

Which is why, even as the barricades have fallen one by one, black goals continue to exceed the white perception of what is possible or even desirable.

Resentment doesn't disappear with a better job; militancy does not vanish around an integrated lunch counter.

No one in his right mind can deny that black South

Africans are still burdened by dreadful inequities, that despite the economic advances of the past few years, millions suffer a level of deprivation which would be unthinkable and intolerable for whites, that far too many are homeless, jobless, hungry and without the education or skills ever to be anything else.

Prejudices diluted

But if one cannot deny the ugliness in South African society, so does it demand a heroic act of self-deception to proclaim that the more this country changes, the more it remains the same.

It can't. For even as in the US legislative reform led to a gradual change in racial attitudes, so in South Africa is economic change diluting the racial prejudices and stereotypes that underpin statutory apartheid, which in turn must eventually collapse from lack of support.

This country has a long and rocky road to travel before some kind of racial equity and amity is reached. And it must continually look ahead if it is ever to achieve that goal.

But, as the long distance runner knows, it is perverse not to look back occasionally to see how far we have come — and how far we still have to go.

RAPPORT PUBLISHERS CONVICTED OF CONTRAVENING SECRETS ACT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Oct 83 p 13

[Text]

THE publishers of the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport and two employees appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday and were convicted of contravening the Official Secrets Act, after pleading guilty.

The Official Secrets Act was still in operation in April last year at the time of the crime. It was repealed during June last year and replaced with the Protection of Information Act.

Yesterday Rapport Publishers (Pty) Limited, represented by Mr T P Boshoff manager of the concern at the time of the offence Izak Joubert Perold (former editor) and senior journalist Eduard Botha, (now Washington correspondent), appeared before Mr T J le Grange and admitted they contravened the Official Secrets Act.

They admitted that

they had possessed information relating to security matters in South Africa and had published or publicised it and that at the time of such publication they knew or should reasonably have known that the information related to State security matters.

The trial arises from the trial of the mercenaries involved in the abortive Seychelles coup.

When the trial commenced yesterday, magistrate Mr T J le Grange ruled that it be held in camera.

He later granted permission for the publication of the names of the accused, the nature of the charge without details and the sentence.

The magistrate said it was a serious crime to reveal the name and identity of an alleged agent of the Intelligence Service.

It was detrimental to the safety of the State and detrimental to the safety

of that person and his family.

He accepted a defence counsel submission that the newspaper publishers "had taken legal advice beforehand" and that the publication of the classified information "had been a mere slip".

The court said "the damage has however been done".

Rapport publishers were fined R500. The two co-accused were cautioned and discharged.

The trial comes after a test case held in the Johannesburg Regional Court in March this year in which South African Associated Newspapers and the editors of the Sunday Times and Rand Daily Mail were charged with contravening various sections of the Protection of Information Act which replaced the Official Secrets Act.

The charges were retrospective and the accus-

ed were convicted under the old Act with having been in possession of and revealed through publication classified information from Seychelles Mercenary Trial which had a bearing on State security in South Africa.

At the March trial, Saan, convicted on three counts, was fined R2 000 of which half was suspended. Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Rex Gibson, was convicted on two counts and fined R500 (or five months) suspended for five years. Sunday Times editor Mr Tertius Myburgh was convicted on one count and received a suspended fine of R300 (or three months) and journalist Eugene Hugo, convicted on three counts, received a suspended fine of R800 (or eight months).

In yesterday's trial Mr T J le Grange was on the Bench. Dr J D'Olivier of the Office of the Attorney-General represented the State. The accused were represented by Mr Mostert, SC, with him Mr J Henning, instructed by Couzyn, Hertzog and Horak.

CSO: 3400/65

CHANGE IN PROVINCES' RULE INVOLVES LONG STUDY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Oct 83 p 4

[Text]

TECHNICAL Investigations into the adaptation of middle-level government and its accommodation in the new dispensation will continue for "at least" the current terms of office of provincial councils, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

He told the Administrator's conference in Cape Town the investigations were comprehensive and could not be hastily concluded.

The investigations and subsequent negotiations with all involved parties, once the advisory reports were received, might take up a further term of office for provincial governments, he added.

It was notable that not one of the provinces had taken a standpoint that adaptation and change was not necessary.

"It is not possible to provide final answers regarding details of the anticipated middle-level government before these investigations and negotiations have been concluded," Mr Heunis said.

There were, however, certain aspects that could be considered definite at this stage.

Firstly, the position of no official, whether employed at central, provincial or municipal level, would in any way be endangered by the anticipated adaptations.

"On the contrary, it is envisaged that a co-ordinated strategy will be necessary to train officials to cope with the increased

requirements, and attention is already being given to this."

The second aspect was that more middle-level structures would have to be created within the existing four provincial administrations to bring authorities closer to the populations and "shorten

lines of communication".

Thirdly, middle-level government structures would always be necessary in South Africa, as the country was too extended geographically to have only central and local authorities. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/65

RIGHT WING SCORES VICTORY AT TUCSA CONFERENCE

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 4 Oct 83 p 14

[Article in "Business Day" by Steven Friedman]

[Text]

LAST week's Tucsa conference was a crushing victory for its Right wing.

The meeting took place against the background of mounting concern in Tucsa at its loss of credibility in the face of the growth of emerging unions.

The congress rejected by big majorities suggestions by the Boilermakers Society that it reassess its direction and reject aspects of the closed shop — and thus improve Tucsa's relations with emerging unions. Instead, it backed the solution favoured by Tucsa's leaders.

This called for a sharp rise in affiliation fees to finance increased Tucsa services and to refurbish Tucsa's image. The aim, it seems, is to beef up Tucsa's war chest and enable it to step up its battle against emerging unions.

That war is intended is confirmed by the overwhelming support for a motion calling on the Government to make unregistered unions illegal — a call described by the Boilermakers as "imbecilic" and "selfish".

The Boilermakers are isolated in Tucsa and seem sure to leave — the general secretary, Mr Ike van der Watt, was badly beaten in an election for a Tucsa vice-presidency. But what chance has Tucsa of winning its war with emerging unions?

On the one hand, it can rely on an arsenal of quasi-legal protection in the form of closed shops, representation on Government committees and the like.

It obviously seeks to rely even more on official protection — hence the call for a bar on unregistered unions.

But Tucsa's lack of sympathy for black worker aspirations means it is unable to compete with emerging unions on the shop floor — however many services it offers members.

□□□

HOW widespread was the stoppage by National Union of Mineworkers members to mourn those who died in the Hlobane blast?

The NUM called for a half-hour stoppage, the mines replied that a minute was adequate. The NUM then said many members would observe 30 minutes.

The NUM says about 30 000 members — mostly on the surface — ignored management and took 30 minutes. Employers insist that none did. The mines are insulated from newspapers, so it is impossible to say who is right.

But it does seem the one minute was widely observed, which may show that the NUM is making progress in mobilising members.

If half-hour stoppages did take place, it seems they occurred mostly on the surface and that most underground workers did not defy management.

This may show that the union is too young to mount a widespread symbolic stoppage in defiance of employers now.

Papers filed in the NUM's industrial court test case against Gold Fields West Driefontein mine — it is challenging the dismissal of 17 men who refused to work in an area they consider unsafe — contain startling charges.

These include claims that a rockfall occurred in the area the men refused to work in two days

after they were fired and that the men were subjected to verbal abuse. Gold Fields will contest the action.

□□□

ONE of the industrial court's key functions has been challenged in the court itself.

Last week, Barlows Manufacturing, a Barlow Rand company, argued in a case brought by the Metal and Allied Workers Union that the court could not grant temporary status quo orders reinstating sacked workers if an employer had given them adequate notice. (The court would still be able to pronounce on dismissals, but not as a matter of urgency).

This would largely remove the court's right to grant urgent status quo orders no matter how unfair the sacking might seem to it.

One of the court's chief roles has been to grant such orders. This has given workers speedy recourse by removing the need for a long wait before the court pronounces on firings. In many cases, the granting of these orders has led to speedy settlement of a dis-

pute.

The company wants this referred to the Appeal Court.

□□□

THE Metal and Allied Workers Union's new strategy of using official machinery to declare disputes with employers seems to be paying off in Natal.

According to the MAWU's newsletter, disputes at McKinnon Chain and Scottish Cables have been settled, and one with Gedore Tools is close to settlement. The MAWU also settled its wage dispute with WB Cameron after a strike ballot.

But in the Transvaal, the wage dispute with Highveld Steel entered deadlock last week and others with major firms are not settled.

The MAWU also claims significant growth in Rosslyn, Pinetown, Witbank and Springs and lists 12 recognition agreements. It says another 23 are being negotiated.

The union cites as a reason for its growth during a recession its decision to concentrate only on important sectors of the metal industries.

CSO: 3400/65

GOVERNMENT SEEN CURTAILING STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Oct 83 p 6

[Article in the "My View" Column by Marimuthu Subramoney, managing editor of the Press Trust of South Africa]

[Text]

The struggle for the establishment of autonomous and democratically-elected student representative councils seems to be a perennial issue at all black universities in South Africa.

Over the past few months students at the universities of Turfloop, Fort Hare and the Medical University of South Africa (MEDUNSA) have had to contend with harsh actions by heads of universities — most of whom are the whites and approved by the National Party — in their attempts to set up independent and free SRCs.

The University of Durban-Westville, which was established more than 20 years ago to cater for the academic requirements of Indian South Africans, has become the latest campus this year to earn the wrath of the university authorities.

For some time the students have been locked in a bitter and acrimonious struggle with the university administration after the Rector, Professor J C C Greyling, suspended the SRC and banned all "political" meetings on the campus.

Professor Greyling cited as his reasons the financial position of the SRC and the "illegality" of the SRC constitution.

His action had not come as a surprise to the SRC leaders, because, over the past six months, the students were subject to harassment and intimidation by the campus police and attention by the security branch of the South African Police.

The students cite the following actions against them:

- The refusal of entry into the campus of a community leader and part-time student, Mr Roland Parshotam;
- The banning of a student meeting that was to have been addressed by the recently unbanned leaders of the Natal Indian congress (NIC), Mr George Sewpersadh and Mr Mewa Ramgobin;
- The alleged arrest of students by campus police and handing over student to the security police;
- The confiscation of pamphlets and documents belonging to the SRC;
- The banning of the Azanian

Students Organisation (AZASO), to which the SRC is affiliated;

- Alleged co-operation between the campus police and the security branch policemen.

The students claim that all these actions and the subsequent banning of the SRC are part of a concerted effort by Professor Greyling to limit and inhibit student activity because the SRC had promoted the ideals of democracy and non-racialism.

With all student activities suspended because of the banning of the SRC, the students have now approached attorneys to institute legal action to challenge Professor Greyling's decision.

The students are not surprised at the curtailment of academic freedom because they claim "it is all part of the grand scheme to crush all independent thought on black campuses."

But they will like to know how is it possible that principals at white universities allow SRCs on their campuses to operate without any interference, yet their counterparts at black campuses try at all times to stifle and "control" SRCs.

REPORTAGE ON PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Gandhi Issue Divisive

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Sep 83 p 3

[Text]

Mahatma Gandhi — and his philosophy of non-violent action — became a religious football yesterday as his name was bandied about in the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.

Some delegates at the assembly took exception to what one called Gandhi "somehow having swayed the heads" of the committee responsible for drawing up a report and a recommendation on non-violent action.

The objectors put a counter motion calling for prayer, fasting and repentance to bring about an "outpouring of the Spirit".

The original recommendation proposed by the committee asked for a mandate from the assembly to inform congregations on non-violence and its Biblical basis.

This was the third year in which the issue — seen as a crucial aspect of division within the Church — was debated.

The decision adopted was a compromise which included both a call for prayer and repentance as well as education on non-violence.

Heresy Motion Rejected

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Carina le Grange]

[Text]

The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (PCSA), at its general assembly in Boksburg, yesterday defeated a motion which sought to en-

dorse the decision taken by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) in Ottawa last year that apartheid is a heresy.

The PCSA is the only mainline English-speaking church in South Africa which has not endorsed the decision.

The motion was put to the assembly before a recommendation on relations with the Ned Geref Kerk (NGK) because the decision on heresy "had direct bearing" on the PCSA's contact with the NGK.

The NGK was suspended from the WARC at the same time as the theological justification of apartheid was declared a heresy. One of the reasons for the reluctance some PCSA delegates felt about endorsing the WARC decision was that they would also be endorsing the suspension.

The assembly also passed a motion noting "with deep regret" the failure of the NGK to enter into the debate between the two churches to which the NGK had previously agreed.

Presbyterian Church Needs To Be Updated

A call was made this week for the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (PCSA) to "shed some of its outmoded traditions and creaking structures" in the interests of growth.

In his annual report to the Church's general assembly in Boksburg, the convener of the Life and Work Committee, the Rev DL Crawford of Durbanville, identified lack of direction and a smouldering racism as other weaknesses of the denomination.

"The Church needs to be reminded of the thousands of men and women who walk past our church buildings on their way to a Christian eternity, while we haggle over details," he told the delegates.

The assembly was also addressed by the Rev Frank Retief of the Church of England in South Africa, who shared some of his experiences as the minister of one of the country's most rapidly growing local Churches.

Other visitors to the assembly this week were Bishop Desmond Tutu of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), a delegation from the United Presbyterian Church of the United States, representatives of several South African denominations and the Rev A McCay from New Zealand.

CISKEI-TRANSKEI BORDER FENCES TO BE CHECKED

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 24 Sep 83 p 7

[Text]

EAST LONDON — South African Government surveyors and land inspectors are expected to start checking the border fences of Ciskei and Transkei within the next two months.

This was disclosed yesterday by an official of the Department of Community Development, Mr Gerhard Olivier, when he addressed members of the Eastern Cape Agricultural Union at a special "consolidation and border problem" meeting in Queenstown.

Mr Olivier said a start to checking border fences is to be made in the Queenstown area "seeing that the fences are in the correct spot, measure up to the required minimum height of 1,8 m and are made up of the stipulated 13 strands of barbed wire."

"Farmers are responsible for erecting the fences and are then reimbursed with all

costs plus 10 per cent," he said.

Meanwhile, it also transpired at the meeting that the Eastern Cape Agricultural Union is strongly opposed to Ciskei and Transkei suggestions that border fences be erected only on the South Africa side where rivers are concerned.

The chairman of the ECAU's consolidation committee, Mr Gus Peinke, said: "This proposal is completely unacceptable to us."

"We feel it will be far better if the old give-and-take principle is adopted...by this I mean the fence should run along one side of the river in some places and on

the other side on other stretches," he said.

The South African Agricultural Union suggested that the border-separating fences should be put up on both sides of a river with the waterway becoming a sort of no-man's-land.

Both Ciskei and Transkei authorities have, however, rejected this and say the fences must be put up on the South African bank only — leaving the actual river and its water to fall on their side of the border.

The South African Ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Matthys Botha, told the meeting that special "interview committees" are being created to help farmers who have

problems where rivers are concerned.

"The Ciskei Government appreciates what the South African Government is doing for it and I'm sure that after we have heard from South African farmers and present their cases to the Ciskeian authorities, things will be able to be worked out to everyone's satisfaction," he said.

The deputy director of general services of the SA Agricultural Union, Mr Hans van der Merwe, said farmers should feel assured that organised agricultural authorities were "looking after their interests" as far as the consolidation problem is concerned." — DDR.

CSO: 3400/65

SUNDAY TIMES LITERARY AWARD SHARED BY NOLUTSHUNGU, VAN NIEKERK

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 2 Oct 83 p 29

[Article by Fleur De Villiers: "Is There Anybody Out There Listening?"]

[Text]

"Everybody's talking at me. I don't hear a word they're saying ..."

THE long silence is broken. The silence in which South Africans of every political persuasion appeared content to leave politics to the politicians — with perhaps an academic or two thrown in for good measure just to keep the Rapportryers happy on Republic Day.

Now, suddenly, under the goad of the coming referendum, it is no longer quiet.

Everyone from the Cape to Kaapmuiden has an opinion to air and is vigorously giving tongue.

Neither is the babble of voices restricted to those with a vote in the referendum or a role in the new constitution.

Change, as Mr P W Botha is discovering, possibly to his surprise, affects everyone.

And by the very act of excluding blacks from the new deal he has paradoxically, if unwittingly, put their future back on the agenda and given them a right to enter the debate.

But if everybody's talking, is anybody out there listening?

In this fragile moment as South Africa pauses on the brink of a decision which must alter the course and pattern of her history, its people should listen to each other as never before.

They are not. If we have suddenly discovered the heady alcohol of speech, we have still to taste the wine of true conversation.

South Africans remain locked into their own groups, each with its own fears, aspirations and obsessions, and they are talking almost exclusively to fellow members of the same club.

True communication with others who share their country with them has never been more desirable. Never has it been at a greater premium.

It is therefore timeous that two books which attempt to bridge that communications gap at this critical point in our history will share the R2 500 1983 Sunday Times literary award for political writing.

Irrational

And it is even more appropriate that one, "Changing South Africa, political considerations", is by a black academic, and that the other, the aptly titled "Dominee, are you listening

to the drums?", is by an Afrikaner theologian who realises better than most the desperate need for communication between South Africans divided by a common country.

As the Rev A S van Niekerk puts it in his thoughtful work: "Many still value their national identity so highly that they prize it above all else, to the extent that this preoccupation assumes irrational proportions."

Aspirations

"They find it difficult to communicate in a spontaneous and meaningful way with other groups ... they tragically shut themselves into a single exclusive category: the essence of apartheid."

Dr van Niekerk, a young NGK theologian who is currently working on an NGK mission in Sibasa, has not shut himself up within his group.

Instead, through this book, which examines the work of four black South African poets, he attempts to create an understanding of black aspirations and frustrations.

His co-winner, Dr Sam Nolutshungu, a South African academic who is a lecturer in the Department of Government at the University of Manchester, has written a very different book.

But the effect on white readers of his scholarly assessment of change in South Africa will be much the same — the discovery, possibly for the first time, that this country's concerns and problems appear strangely altered when viewed from another perspective.

Both books, each in its own way, more than fulfil the requirements of the Sunday Times political-writing award.

When the award was first launched in 1980, we said that never before in South Africa's history had there been a greater need for original, innovative thinking by political scientists, economists, sociologists and other writers in fields that touch the nation's affairs.

The prize was intended to stimulate the debate and thus break the logjam in South African politics.

Today, that logjam is breaking up, but while the debate has certainly been stimulated — if the 30 books entered for the 1983 prize are any measure — it still has to cross those seemingly impenetrable barricades of language, prejudice, culture and colour which South Africans have erected around each other.

The entries range from Alf Ries and Eben Dommisse's account of the 1982

split in the National Party, "Broedertwis", to "Soldiers Without Politics", an analysis of the South African Defence Force by American academic Kenneth Grundy.

Disappointed

Many, however, were devoted to two dominant issues in white politics — the moral dilemma of the Afrikaans churches and the search for a new constitution.

Nevertheless, the panel of three judges — educationist Franklin Sonn, Professor Gerrit Olivier of the University of Pretoria, and Professor John Barratt, of the South African Institute of International Affairs — confessed that they were disappointed.

"Not," says Professor Barratt, "because of the standards of the entries, but by the limited scope of the debate.

"There appears to be a paucity of original thinking and ideas.

"Instead, we are going around in circles, examining the same old issues, while there are areas — such as our position in Africa — which remain entirely neglected.

"And all this does is to promote our own isolation on the continent on which we live and in which we have to secure our future."

South African academics, he believes, have abandoned the true role of the scholar-scout — examining the field well ahead of the political pack, thinking the unthinkable, breaking new ground, unafraid of offending the established norms and interests of either the right or the left.

"Instead", he says, "we appear to be locked into answering each other's questions, rather than perceiving other questions which have not been raised."

The result is that the critical appraisal essential for policy formation in South Africa is woefully lacking, while "the scholars and researchers who should be making those assess-

ments are gnawing on old bones".

The problem, he suggests, may lie with the politicians and policy makers who are unwilling to listen to anything which exceeds the narrow bounds they have imposed on the debate.

Surely nowhere else in the non-communist world are politicians as inattentive to what the scholars say.

But, languishing on the periphery of the debate, they too must surely bear some responsibility for their irrelevance.

Blind spot

Unwilling to rock the boat by questioning basic assumptions, they appear only too ready to leave issues such as South Africa's role in Africa to the "people who know", or to the instant experts from abroad on whom, to our constant embarrassment, we rely for information and opinion about our part of the world.

Other panel members were equally depressed about the current state of academic debate in South Africa — a debate which reflects a profound moral crisis, a deep uncertainty about this country's path into the future and, at the same time, reveals a distressing absence of anything new to say.

South Africa's persistent ignorance of Africa was one of the judges' main complaints — an ignorance which is leading both this country and its academics into endorsing official attitudes and policies without question or critical analysis.

Despite the recent proliferation of institutes formed to study particular international and African issues, there appears to be an emphasis on form rather than substance.

The institutes are desperately undermanned, and too many of them look at Africa within the current parameters of Government policy.

The fearless independent research which should pre-

cede long-term policy formation and help determine our attitudes to Africa for the next five, 10 and 20 years is simply not being done.

An example which South Africa should have followed years ago is Israel's, whose institutes and universities produce international leaders in research and expertise on the Arab world.

In sharp and humiliating contrast, there are precious few South African academics who know much, or even care about the situation in this country's closest neighbours.

All this could be remedied, it has been suggested, if South Africa's corporate community were to show a little more interest in the region in which it operates, which provides its markets and in which its future will be determined.

But there are surely other reasons for this blind spot in our intellectual life.

One certainly is white South Africa's passion for introspection; the abiding conviction that until we get our own affairs in order, the rest of the world can go to hell in a handbasket.

Which, given the complexity of our problems, is understandable — but dangerous.

For just as our foreign or regional policies cannot be divorced from our domestic problems, so too are interracial attitudes within our borders inseparable from the threat or the opportunity which lies beyond them.

Gateway

Navel-gazing is endlessly fascinating, but if we value our future we cannot allow it to be the only game in town.

One reason for this self-obsession, a panel member suggested, is that white South Africans still suffer from an "identification crisis".

Despite frequent claims that they are Africans, they have failed to look at either Africa or the black man

and tried to connect them with the whites' own existence on this continent.

One book which breaks through this barricade is "Dominee, are you listening to the drums?"

And its contribution is all the more important because so few white South Africans appear to realise that if this country is to find a solution to its problems, its people will have to find a common moral and intellectual basis for their understanding of each other.

But there can be no mutual understanding if they don't begin to communicate.

Dr van Niekerk's book is a scholarly work — indeed, it was originally a doctoral thesis in theology written, ironically enough, under the guidance of rightwing Professor Carel Boshoff of the University of Pretoria.

It examines the work of four leading black South African poets — Oswald Mtshali, Wally Serote, Sipho Sepamla and Pascal Gwala — as a gateway to an understanding of the interaction between Christianity, western civilisation and Africa.

But for all its emphasis on theology, it must also deepen white understanding of black South Africans, of the way in which they experience white civilisation, the city and religion.

As such it must help to create the common intellectual foundation which this country so desperately needs.

As Professor Barratt says: "It goes to the root of the problem, not merely of the Afrikaans churches, but of all churches in adapting to the position of the white man in Africa."

Dr Sam Nolutsaungu's "Changing South Africa" was obviously not written with a South African audience in mind.

Indeed, this expatriate Fort Hare graduate, who has taught at the universities of Ibadan, Lancaster and Manchester, did not even know that his book had been distributed in his home country.

Challenging

Nevertheless, he is pleased that it has reached the audience which "ought to read it".

Whether that audience will be pleased with his findings is another matter, for he says: "I argue that no reform short of full extension of democratic rights to all the citizens of the country will succeed."

Nevertheless, as Professor Barratt says: "Changing South Africa" is important precisely because it tries to tackle some of the underlying questions in South Africa.

"And in doing so it asserts the primacy of political considerations and rejects the economic determinism of both capitalism and Marxism.

"Profound and original in

its thinking, its impact could be limited by its scholarly approach.

"But it is a challenging book, questioning the basis of elitist reform which, it argues, is suspect because it cannot be purveyed to the great mass of blacks."

Franklin Sonn agrees. "It deals with a whole series of subjects which lie at the heart of the complicated and twisted South African situation.

"Erudite and objective, it examines the various ideologies — Marxism, liberalism, black consciousness, nationalism and capitalism — which have a bearing on the South African situation.

"The reform initiatives are perceived as an attempt on the part of the regime to incorporate a black elite — a measure which, at this late hour and in the manner of its conception and execution, more

resembles a strategy of counter-insurgency than a commitment to fundamental and genuine reform.

"One statement in his book perhaps depicts more than most the heavily polarised conditions of our society: 'The problem for those who rule is order, security, stability; for those that are ruled, the problem is freedom.'

"In a time of clichés and slogans, when South Africans are anguished about their future, and when fundamentally important concepts are bandied about in a simplistic manner, this book forces the reader to look in depth at the issues.

"Whether one agrees with his conclusion or not, it is a timeless, challenging and rewarding study."

As Professor John Barratt says: "Perhaps Nolutshungu's most important contribution is the insight

he provides into the issues and the nature of black politics.

"The debate within black political circles is vital to the future of this country. Whites will not be able to settle their future without taking it into account."

As the broader debate over South Africa's future rages, and the noise level increases, perhaps we should all pause to listen to what writers like Sam Nolutshungu are saying.

Indeed, Dr van Niekerk's warning plea, "Dominee, are you listening to the drums?", should be addressed not merely to his fellow churchmen, but to all South Africans.

For we must all eventually realise that the great argument about this country's future cannot be resolved by decibels, but only by mutual understanding.

The full list of entries . . .

□ IN DIE STROOM VERSNELLINGS by F E O'Brien Geldenhuys (Tafelberg)

□ DIE PAD VAN HERVORMING by W P Esterhuysen (Tafelberg)

□ BROEDERTWIS by Alf Rles and Ebbe Dommissie (Tafelberg)

□ AFRICA BETWEEN EAST AND WEST by L H Gunn and Peter Duignan (Tafelberg)

□ PRAGMATIC LIBERALISM by F M Joyner

AFRIKANER POLITICAL THOUGHT by Andre du Toit and Hermann Gillomee (David Phillip)

□ CHIMURENGA by Paul Moorcraft and Peter McLaughlin (Sygma Collins)

□ POLITICAL ALTERNATIVES FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA by D J van Vuuren and D J Kriek (Butterworths)

□ DIE VERENIGDE PARTY by S L Barnard and A H Marais (Butterworths)

□ CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA by Sam C Nolutshungu (University of Manchester/David Phillip)

□ PROFILE OF DISEASE AND HEALTH CARE IN SOUTH AFRICA by H C J van Rensburg and A Mans (Academica)

□ THE PARTING OF THE WAYS by Hermann Gillomee (David Phillip)

□ THE ROOTS OF NATIONALISM by J J Degenaar (Academica)

□ OUTCAST CAPE TOWN by John Western (Human and Rousseau)

□ PERSPEKTIEF OF DIE OPE BRIEF by David J Bosch and Adrio Konig and Willem D Nicol (Human and Rousseau)

□ SOLDIERS WITHOUT POLITICS by Kenneth W Grundy (University of California Press)

□ DIE NASIONALE PARTY IN NATAL by A J van Wyk (Perskor)

□ VAN RIEBEEK TOT P W BOTHA by F A van Jaarsveld (Perskor)

□ EDUCATION, RACE, AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA by John A Marcum (University of California Press)

□ JAMESON'S RAID by Elizabeth Longford (Jonathan Ball)

□ SUID-AFRIKA — OORLEWING IN POLITIEK PERSPEKTIEF by P Hugo and H Kotze (Jonathan Ball)

□ SANCTIONS by Tony Koenderman (Jonathan Ball)

□ FOR VOLK AND FUHRER / VIR VOLK EN FUHRER by Hans Strydom (Jonathan Ball)

□ APARTHEID CHANGE AND THE NG KERK by J H P Serfontein (Taurus)

□ CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA by B Dean and D van Zyl Smit (Juta)

□ SONDER HOED OF HANDSKOEN by Erica Theron (Tafelberg)

□ AFRICA BETWEEN EAST AND WEST by L H Gunn and Peter Duignan (Tafelberg)

□ TER WILLE VAN HIERDIE WERELD by Ben Engelbrecht (Tafelberg)

□ DOMINEE, ARE YOU LISTENING TO THE DRUMS? by A S van Niekerk (Tafelberg)

□ SE GO? SO? by Ferdinand Deist (Tafelberg)

SA COMPANIES PROVIDE TRAINING FOR NEIGHBORING STATES

Johannesburg INDUSTRIAL WEEK in English 27 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Lynn Carlisle]

[Text]

TRAINING courses provided by South African companies are improving relations between this country and neighbouring states.

This claim by Salister Diesels of Vereeniging is backed by Dr John Burns, executive director of the Manpower and Management Foundation, who has worked here, in Bophuthatswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

And while some SA-based firms operating in Black states need to improve this training, a greater effort is also needed by workers in those countries, says Dr Burns.

Efforts so far have, however, created an interdependency which has helped remove friction between SA and other states.

"I agree with Salister Diesels that it helps to establish bonds and break down barriers. Yet I have been disturbed by an unwillingness at times by Blacks in these states to avail themselves of training on offer," he says.

Based on several years of training workers in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Transkei,

Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana the Stewart & Lloyds company — Salister — says customers in those countries have increased their confidence in Salister products.

Frank Tjasink, service manager of Salister, has carried out this training as far away as Malawi with the objective of teaching the users to get the full benefit from an initially large investment.

This means teaching maintenance and mechanics how to strip, overhaul and reassemble engines completely.

Classes

Tjasink decides where to conduct either elementary, intermediate or advanced training for Government employees and other major users. Candidates bring their own worn-out engines so that actual work can be completed on these. All they pay for is spare parts.

Dr Burns says SA civil engineering contracts

Stocks & Stocks and Wimpeys also carry out thorough training in their fields abroad.

"Yet I know of cases involving multi-million-rand contracts where good free training is ignored by neighbouring locals. This training would uplift their skills on a large term basis. There is still a need for worker attitudinal changes towards learning new skills and improving their existing ability," Dr Burns adds.

DECLINE OF LABOR PRODUCTIVITY REPORTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Oct 83 p 12M

[Article by Sheryl Raine]

[Text]

South Africa's labour productivity declined by 0,7 percent in 1982 after an increase of 2,6 percent in the previous year, according to figures published by the National Productivity Institute (NPI).

In its first publication on macro-productivity matters, "Productivity Statistics 1983", The NPI notes with concern that only between 1978 and 1981 did multiple input productivity contribute positively to the average annual growth rate of 6,2 percent experienced during this period.

"This is a matter of great concern because in many of South Africa's major trading partners productivity growth is responsible for as much as 60 percent of their economic growth rates," the NPI said in a statement.

As a result the economies of these countries were continuously becoming more competitive, compared with the South African economy, where productivity played a small or even nega-

tive role in its growth performance.

"It is little wonder that South Africa is, even at this stage of the business cycle, struggling with an inflation rate more than double that of its major trading partners," the NPI said.

The decline in the real gross domestic product for every worker in the non-agricultural sectors of the South African economy in 1982 was attributed to the net result of declines in output and employment of one percent and 0,3 percent respectively.

LABOUR INPUT

The figures published by the NPI said the South African economy became relatively more capital-intensive since 1970.

The labour input index was 29 percent higher in 1982 than in 1970, compared with the real capital input index, which increased by 101 percent during the same period.

The capital labour ratio was 56 percent higher in 1982 than in 1970.

PRETORIA-MABOPANE ROAD PROJECT STIRS CONTROVERSY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Sep 83 p 11M

[Text]

The official opening of the R69,4 million Pretoria-Mabopane freeway next month is the culmination of one of the Transvaal's most ingenious road projects.

But the controversy over the designer's right to play "Creator" and blast a 45 m deep poort up to 500 m wide through the Magaliesberg, is probably far from over.

While most seem to accept that the P200-1 (PWV-9) had to be built and that as there was no natural poort through which it could pass, the designers did the best they could in blasting the Beetgasberg cutting, conservationists will fight against any further breaks in the range.

From reports commissioned by the Transvaal Roads Department as early as 1970, it became clear there was little alternative but to build a freeway bypass west of Pretoria to link the black residential area of Mabopane and the industrial area of Rosslyn, first only with Pretoria's Apies River Road but later with the Johannesburg Western bypass.

In a subsequent report the department rejected the proposal of twin tunnels 400 m long and 11,1 m wide as being too expensive and time-consuming to construct, and settled instead for a proposal for a cutting in the Magaliesberg, landscaped to resemble a natural poort.

The first 13 km of the P200-1 between Mabopane and the Rosslyn turnoff is a single carriageway (built

at a cost of R8,4 million) but the road then widens into a dual carriageway with additional "climbing" lanes on hills.

The road will eventually be widened into eight lanes.

The road and poort have been open to traffic for some weeks but will be officially opened by the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, on October 27.

At the same time the poort will be named the T F Martins Poort, in honour of the former MEC in charge of roads.

In designing the poort engineers claim they have done what could have taken nature millions of years of weathering to produce. To do this convincingly seven different categories of topsoil were stockpiled separately to be replaced at their previous depths on the slopes of the poort.

About 140 000 tufts of indigenous grass were removed to a special nursery and replanted on the new slopes while 10 000 indigenous trees — in-

cluding karee, kiepersol and spiesdoring — were planted.

All the rock and soil removed from the mountain which was not used in reshaping the slopes — some 2,5 million cubic metres — was crushed and used for fill on the freeway and other roads in the surrounding area.

The road will eventually carry hundreds of buses from Mabopane, as well as the traffic from Rosslyn.

CSO: 3400/65

BLACKS BUYING POWER PROPS UP DROOPING CAR MARKET

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 4 Oct 83 p 19

[Article in "Business Day" Section by Priscilla Whyte]

[Text]

BLACK buying power is helping the motor industry to weather the storm of recession.

Commentators frequently dismiss the buying power that the black market has shown in the past seven years in the expectation that the motor industry will lie down in the recession, says Mr Colin Adcock, managing director of Toyota.

"Black purchases have not dropped at the same rate at which the white market has fallen. The car market is underpinned by blacks," says Mr Adcock.

Toyota's plant use is 100% — 425 cars are coming off the line daily. It is planning to reach a 520 a day. Mr Adcock expects the 520 target to be reached by the end of 1984.

Toyota's earnings a share rose 400% in 1980 and Mr Adcock says there is no reason why in the next boom the shares should not perform well. "They are not performing badly in the recession."

Toyota's policy is to keep as much capital as possible in the business because enormous amounts are required for investment in plant.

Toyota in Japan is looking good "as the highest earner of all Japanese corporations."

Mr Adcock estimates that there are 162 variants of cars on the SA market. Toyota uses the yardstick that if fewer than 70 cars of a variant are not sold a month then it is not possible to cover the administrative costs involved irrespective of the production cost a unit.

"Since the fuel crisis every major motor manufacturer has been working to producing a lighter, more fuel-efficient and powerful engine and Toyota in the 1980s will phase out the passenger car engine as part of the local content. The engine will be imported from Japan. The majority of our competitors are going the same way."

The turbocharged engine "bluffs" the engine it is always driving at sea level. "Sea-level performance on the highveld at our speed limit can be achieved in many other ways. The turbocharged route is expensive and it is a matter of fashion overseas at the moment." Toyota does not see turbocharged vehicles as a serious contender in the SA market with an official speed limit of 100 km/h.

Car ownership in the white sector is near saturation point. It is second only to the US in the vehicle per head of population ratio. Mr Adcock views this sector as a replacement market of the the future. He believes that official statistics rate the growth potential of the black market too low. Even the motor industry itself does not seem to realise the importance of this sector. Toyota spends a "reasonable amount" on advertising on black TV.

These statistics reflect car ownership by race group:

All	3 538 046
White	2 267 032
Other (company)	555 796
Coloured	178 355
Asians	153 069
Blacks	383 794

Ownership per 1 000 people is:
White 439
Coloureds..... 51
Asians 140
Blacks..... 13

The fleet market is important, but he believes it has been overstated by some motor manufacturers who claim that it accounts for 60% of sales. He estimates fleet ownership at 38% for cars and 45% in the light commercial market.

He believes the 1983 sales year will be better than even the most optimistic elements in the motor trade have estimated and 1985 and 1986 are likely to be boom years.

CSO: 3400/65

PLAN FOR W. CAPE RAIL SERVICE DETAILED

Cape Town THE CAPE TIMES in English 24 Sep 83 p 7

[Text]

THE RAILWAYS are to spend more than R124-million in the Western Cape over the next two or three years to improve the local train service — and nearly R5-million to get more people country-wide to “go rail”.

By 1986, a completely independent line will join the Cape Flats to the City, cutting the link with the Bellville service.

“This will eliminate existing bottlenecks at points where the lines converge, cutting delays drastically,” said the systems manager for the Western Cape, Mr E W Kirsten.

He added that there was no likelihood of a fare increase this year.

The massive improvements programme includes the building of four lines between Mait-

land and Salt River; six between Salt River and Woodstock; lengthening platforms and providing five staging roads at Steenberg; extensions to platforms, rolling stock and signalling equipment on the Nyanga-Bonteheuwel run; a ticket-barrier system on the Cape Town-Kraaifontein line; and additions to facilities at Cape Town station that include automatic fare and gate-control systems, new rolling stock and extra platforms.

“There might not be a visible improvement in our suburban services for the next 18 months or so, but when all the projects are complete, I can promise Capetonians a service second to none,” Mr Kirsten said.

Describing the growth of the commuter population in the Western Cape as “phenomenal”, he said that nearly 480 000 people used trains daily to come to work.

“We are facing stiff competition from cars and planes as far as passenger transport goes,” said Mr H Hamersma, the Railways’ national director of passenger services.

“We have taken a decision to embark on an ambitious marketing and advertising campaign to attract our passengers back to our services.”

DROUGHT TO COST SA BILLION RAND IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 2 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Alex Hogg]

[Text] THE drought will cost South Africa R1 000-million in foreign exchange, and account for at least half the fall of 3,5% in economic growth this year.

This emerges in a major study of the drought undertaken by Professor Roger Gidlow, head of the department of economics at the Wits Business School.

In his study for stockbrokers Mathison & Hollidge, Prof Gidlow concludes:

- Agricultural output for the year as a whole is likely to be down 20% on 1982. This follows a drop of 30% in the first six months and 7,5% in 1982.

- The spin-off on food prices could be the major stumbling-block in the Government's stated objective of getting inflation down to single digits.

- The effect on incomes of the farming community will be disastrous, pushing the net earnings down to a level which is less than half that enjoyed in 1981.

In a broad economic sense, the drought is set to push the agricultural sector's contribution to the country's output down to an all-time low of 6,5% this year.

By comparison, the smallest contribution from this sector in the last decade was 1973's 7,6%.

Just three years ago, when the economy enjoyed a growth rate of 8% and the gold price was booming, agriculture still accounted for 8,5% of gross domestic product.

A factor which will be of concern to Government on the eve of its November 2 referendum is the sharp decline in the farming community's earnings.

It is estimated that the agricultural community's net income could fall to R1 200-million this year.

Farmers' net income was more than double this at R2 600-million in 1981 and a more normal R1 800-million last year.

Prof Gidlow says: "The fall in incomes of the agricultural sector will lead to marked cutbacks by farmers in expenditures on fertilisers, tractors and other capital equipment, as well as encourage a further rundown in agricultural inventories.

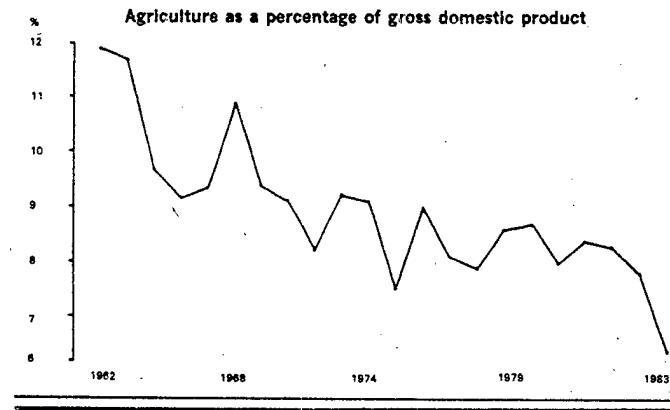
"When the multiplier effects of these reductions in expenditure are taken into account, the total negative impact on output could easily be in the region of 2% of gross domestic product in 1983."

He adds that this takes no account of the effects of water shortages in areas such as northern Natal, where the possibility exists that certain coal mines and a power station could experience disruptions in production.

Looking more specifically at Government's attempt to bring inflation down, Prof Gidlow states that several factors suggest strong upward pressure on prices which emanate from the drought still have to work through.

He cites meat, fodder and dairy prices, while there is also a strong possibility that the drought will "help precipitate a sharp increase in electricity prices" because Escom is being forced to rely on less-efficient power stations in certain areas.

Taking these factors into account, Prof Gidlow predicts that "a fall in the rate of inflation below 10% in the next year or so will be made more difficult."



CSO: 3400/65

CRITICAL MONTH FOR SA AS WATER SUPPLIES FAIL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by Dave Spiro]

[Text]

THE next few weeks will be critical for South Africa if the drought is to be broken in time to avert the possibility of strict water rationing over wide areas of the country.

A spokesman for the Weather Bureau in Pretoria told The Citizen yesterday: "There is a possibility of thunder showers in the next twenty-four hours in the north and north-eastern Cape, the Orange Free State and the south western Transvaal.

"The prospects for rain this week have generally been better than they were last week but things are not all that bright yet and people should not get their hopes up."

Should the rains fail to arrive soon the prospect of strict water rationing

will increase.

A spokesman for the Department of Environmental Affairs said yesterday the Government would have to consider emergency plans which would cover every aspect from water rationing to pumping water from the few dams that still have water.

"Pumping water from these dams will be very expensive and if it does not rain by the end of October we will have reason to be concerned," he said.

Meanwhile the drought continues to have an increasingly severe effect on the farming community. Grain farmers in particular are watching crops fail and costs rising.

The chief economist of the South African Agricultural Union, Mr B J Willemse, said yesterday the annual grain crop had slumped from 15,9 mil-

lion tons in 1980-81 to 4,8 million tons in 1982-83 — a drop of nearly 70 percent.

Mr Willemse said the drop represented a 58 percent deficit in the gross value of crops.

"In 1980-81 the value of the grain crop was R2 046 million, but in 1982-83 this fell to R853,5 million," he said.

"The mealie crop was particularly hard hit," said Mr Willemse, "production has dropped to 4,3 million tons from the 14,6 million tons produced in 1980-81."

"Other grain crops produced showed similar declines and the prospect is dismal," he said.

Mr Willemse also pointed out that this year farmers had to borrow over R1 100 million because of the drought.

CSO: 3400/65

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

PRIORITY OF FARMING COMMUNITY--The prime minister, Mr P.W. Botha, says the government regards the stimulation and maintenance of the dynamic rural community as a high priority because this is the heartbeat of the farming community. Opening the annual congress of the Lower Orange River Development Association at Upington, Mr Botha expressed regret at the increasing white depopulation of most of the South African rural areas. He said the recently announced population development program, as well as the national community development strategy, were tangible proof of the government's intentions of raising standards of living by means of policy measures which ensured a prosperous future for everybody. [Text] [MB070855 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1900 GMT 6 Oct 83]

DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESSES MEETING--The minister of defense, General Magnus Malan, says South Africans have to realize that victory within the country and over the onslaught against it rests in their own hands and ability, and that no support can be expected from any other part of the world. Addressing a referendum meeting at Geduld near Springs, he said South Africans had to find political solutions while saying to the arnachists: So far and no further. Referring to the proposed constitution and the opposing arguments from the far right of the political spectrum, Gen Malan said it was politically irresponsible to polarize whites and other population groups for cheap political gain. He said sweeping up of emotions between whites and the coloureds and Indians, as was being done on conservative political platforms, was only in the interests of South Africa's enemies. [Text] [MB070913 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1930 GMT 6 Oct 83]

BOTHA ON BLACKS SHARING BENEFITS--The prime minister, Mr P.W. Botha, says the black people of South Africa should share in the benefits of decentralization and regional developments. He is also prepared to talk to them about a constellation of Southern African states. Mr Botha said at a public meeting at Vryburg that the government had looked at, and would in future again take a look at, ways in which all people in the country could enjoy constitutional rights. Turning to the referendum, Mr Botha said that November 2 would not be the end of the government's attempts to create a South Africa in which all people would be able to live in peace and harmony. [Text] [MB080702 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 8 Oct 83]

DEFENSE MINISTER ON ESCALATING 'ONSLAUGHT'--The minister of defense, General Magnus Malan, says the biggest obstacle of a Marxist revolution in South Africa is the acknowledgement and fulfillment of the aspirations of all population groups in the country. Speaking at the opening of a recreation center for the Modderfontein commando, Gen Malan said the completely integrated onslaught on the political, military, economic, and psychological fronts would escalate in the years to come. He said that the more the South African government succeeded in its fights against Marxism with evolutionary process, the more the country's enemies could be expected to become desperate in their attempts to cause chaos to achieve their goals. Recent statements by terrorist organizations clearly showed their anxiety about any evolutionary development and progress in South African politics. [Text] [MB080937 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0900 GMT 8 Oct 83] PAP

PAPERS URGE 'NO' VOTE--The official newspapers of the Anglican and Methodist churches have for the first time published a common editorial, and they are calling for a "no" vote in the November referendum. The editorial is published in the October issues of SEEK and DIMENSION. The two churches are the largest nonracial church groups in Southern Africa. The editors of the newspapers, (Theo Cogan) and Ivy Shapiro, say both churches have majority black memberships, and the new constitution excludes blacks from participating in the South Africa of the future. [Text] [MB120165 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1900 GMT 11 Oct 83]

CSO: 3400/67

TANZANIA

BRIEFS

EAC REACTIVATION INTEREST--Dar es Salaam (Agencies)--Tanzanian Prime Minister Edward Sokoine said Wednesday that Tanzania is ready to re-establish the defunct East African community (EAC) provided that its former partners, Kenya and Uganda, are also prepared to do so. He told a 17-member royal defence college team from Britain that the community would help generate smooth handling of problems facing various sectors of common interest to East Africa. He said Tanzania's stand was unity, adding "the East African heads of state are people of calibre who can bring about the community, but the desire to do so must be common." Mr. Sokoine said Britain, the former colonial ruler of the three states, could help bring them together because of its influence in the area. Recently the Tanzanian Prime Minister spoke of the need to normalise relations between Kenya and Tanzania, which have been bad since the collapse of the community in 1977 and the closure of their common border. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 17 Sep 83 p 4]

CSO: 3400/47

TOGO

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE--Togo and France signed a loan agreement worth 180 million CFA francs yesterday in Lome. This agreement, which falls within the framework of cooperation between the two countries, will enable Togo to increase its production in coffee and cocoa. [Text] [AB060738 Lome Domestic Service in French 0615 GMT 6 Oct 83 AB]

CSO: 3400/63

END